Telling Memories:
Narratives of Haunting and Mourning in the Contemporary Spanish Novel

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Abstract

This thesis explores the representation of the memory of the civil war in four contemporary novels: *La sombra del viento* [*The Shadow of the Wind*] (2001) by Carlos Ruiz Zafón, *Soldados de Salamina* [*Soldiers of Salamis*] (2001) by Javier Cercas, *El lápiz del carpintero* [*The Carpenter's Pencil*] (1998) by Manuel Rivas and *El hijo del acordeonista* [*The Accordionist's Son*] (2003) by Bernardo Atxaga. The thesis argues that these novels address the legacy of the memory of the war wrought by the disremembrance of history during the Spanish Transition and make a vital contribution to the construction of a collective cultural memory of the civil war and Franco era. In particular, each novel represents and forms part of the emergence of private memories of the war and post-war period into the public sphere during the resurgence of memory in Spain from around 1998.

The thesis focuses on the idea of a haunting past created by the Transition's political and psychic rupture with recent history. Through theorised readings of the novels — including Abraham and Torok's concept of trans-generational haunting, the idea of melancholia as culturally prohibited, inexpressible mourning developed by Judith Butler and Abraham and Torok after Freud, Jacques Derrida's conceptualisation of history as hauntology and Giorgio Agamben's notion of politically denuded bare life — the thesis investigates several aspects of the return of memory: the re-emergence of the past in public consciousness, the creation of a new historical narrative, the reconfiguration of Spain's collective memory about the civil war and Franco era, along with its link to pan-European memory debates, and the production of a space for mourning through the inscription of Republican losses in the public sphere. Especially, the thesis highlights how the novels reflect the trans-generational transmission of memories.

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Acknowledgements

I wish to thank Royal Holloway, University of London; Funds for Women Graduates and President's Fund, Edinburgh Association of University Women for financial support for research and writing this thesis. I am also deeply grateful for the financial contribution and constant encouragement I received from my late father, Leonard John Meddick.

I am indebted to my family and friends who supported me over the course of the project, especially Haydn Meddick, David Meddick and Sara Williams. My particular thanks go to Paul and Michèle Whitehead for their advice, support and encouragement, especially during the difficult stages of writing. I thank Robin Kirby for reading various bits of work and advice about keeping going. I owe considerable thanks to many people who helped me at Royal Holloway. I am grateful to Professor Colin Davis for an important early suggestion about ethics. I also wish to thank Professor Abigail Lee Six for various pieces of advice and comments. In addition, I thank Professor Helen Graham for her support and encouragement. I am truly grateful to Professor James Williams for his academic input in the later stages of the project. In particular, I give my profound thanks to Professor Sarah Wright for her academic supervision, stalwart support and for helping me to clarify the various strands of the thesis. As well, I benefited from attending the School of Criticism and Theory at Cornell University. At Royal Holloway I am utterly grateful to my thesis adviser Professor Robert Eaglestone for his enthusiasm and insightful comments throughout. Finally, I record my deep gratitude to the late Professor David Vilaseca for his academic supervision, his shrewdness and generosity.

An earlier version of Chapter One appeared as 'The Telling of Memory in *La sombra del viento* by Carlos Ruiz Zafón', in *Romance Studies* 28.4 (November 2010): 246-58.

Introduction

This thesis explores the representation of the memory of the Spanish Civil War in four contemporary novels: *La sombra del viento* [*The Shadow of the Wind*] (2001) by Carlos Ruiz Zafón, *Soldados de Salamina* [*Soldiers of Salamis*] (2001) by Javier Cercas, *El lápiz del carpintero* [*The Carpenter's Pencil*] (1998) by Manuel Rivas and *El hijo del acordeonista* [*The Accordionist's Son*] (2003) by Bernardo Atxaga. The thesis argues that these novels address the legacy of the memory of the civil war wrought by the disremembrance of history during the Spanish Transition and make a vital contribution to the construction of a collective cultural memory of the war and Franco era.[1] In particular, each novel represents and forms part of the emergence of private memories of the war and post-war period into the public sphere during the resurgence of memory in Spain — the so-called "memory boom" — from around 1998.[2] Through theorised readings of these novels, the thesis investigates several aspects of the return of memory: the re-emergence of the past in public consciousness, the creation of a new historical narrative, the reconfiguration of Spain's collective memory about the civil war and Franco era, along with its link to pan-European memory debates, and the production of a space for mourning through the inscription of Republican losses in the public sphere. Especially, the thesis highlights how the novels reflect the trans-generational transmission of memories.

Drawing on the concept of the memory of the civil war as a haunting past produced by the Transition's political and psychic rupture with recent history, the thesis explores how the novels illuminate the re-emergence of Republican memories. However, rather than focusing solely on Republican histories, the thesis also looks at legacies linked to the Francoist side. The thesis argues that these novels are texts of mourning that show the recognition of the memories of the civil war has implications for Spanish identity: the country and also its people. The thesis does not suggest the

[1] The word disremembrance is used to convey a forgetting that was to a greater or lesser degree conscious and therefore active or actively chosen. Whereas remembrance means remembering and memorialisation, disremembrance is about disregard or oblivion.

[2] The "memory boom" comprised innumerable historical and cultural studies, including historical analyses, television documentaries, novels, films, testimonies and memoirs about the war and Francoist repression (Davis 2005: 873-74, Graham 2004: 325-26, Labanyi 2007: 95 and 2009: 26).

memory of the civil war and the Francoist past has been laid to rest; but by producing knowledge of the memories of the war and thereby promoting discussion, the novels represent and also enable mourning from the perspective of the present.

Since literature represents an interior act of memory the thesis argues that it is a particularly fitting means of expressing private memories of the civil war and Francoist past. These novels thus contribute to the formation and dissemination of an historical consciousness. They represent a dialogue between the past and the present that bridges the divide produced by the Transition's disremembrance of history, and thereby links the past, the present and the future. Although the novels are fictional works of memory they represent and return historical reality and therefore knowledge of the civil war and Franco era. The thesis also shows how these novels draw attention to the role of the imagination in Spain's confrontation with its traumatic history. This narrative approach echoes the reality of their authors' experience, who did not live through the civil war, but were born and grew up under Francoism one or two generations later: Carlos Ruiz Zafón in 1964, Javier Cercas in 1962, Manuel Rivas in 1957 and Bernardo Atxaga in 1951.

The thesis is about the trans-generational transmission of memories and addressing the long inter-generational silence around the civil war. This silence arose in the Franco era and was then extended into the Transition as a result of the disremembrance of the recent past. Labanyi points out that the longevity of the Franco dictatorship — thirty-six-years, from 1939 to 1975 — meant that '[t]wo new generations' were produced within 'its time span' (2007: 99). In terms of Republican memories, the silence about the past linked to censorship, which prohibited 'any mention of the civil war that was sympathetic to the Republic, which was persistently vilified' (99). Especially in the first twenty years the policies of the Franco regime planted 'fear and shame' into those on the losing side (99). Frequently, due to the climate of denunciations which prevailed in the 1940s, individual memories were not only absent from the public sphere but also remained privately unspoken. Thus, within families the memory of the war was not transmitted from one generation to the next.

The inter-generational silence did not end when Spain entered democracy. Instead, the disremembrance of the recent past meant that as under Franco, in the Transition people did not pass their memories on. One of the consequences of the continuation of the silence was that the following generation(s) remained oblivious to familial memories of the civil war. Writing in 2000, Balfour observed that '[t]he learnt

reflex of silence about the past among old Republican supporters' meant that 'many younger people know little about their family's history in the 1930s' and show scant interest in 'the recent past' (282).

A key driver of the resurgence of interest in memory since 1998 has been the impending death of the generations who lived through the time of the civil war. As the historian Helen Graham notes, the impetus for recovery has been charged by the fact that 'the generations who suffered' under Francoism are approaching the end of their lives; as in memory of the Holocaust, "biological memory" will soon be lost (2004: 326). The retrieval of memories has been partly fuelled by what has been termed "la generación de los nietos de los vencidos" ["the generation of the grandchildren of the vanquished"] (Rojo 2004: 44, cited in Ferrán 2007: 32). The historians Santos Juliá and Paloma Aguilar have remarked that with this generation's coming of age Spanish society seemed to accept it must reckon with the past in ways it had not done so in the Transition (Ferrán 2007: 32). Since this generation experienced neither the war nor the dictatorship directly, it has been able to view and engage with 'los datos de la historia desde otra mirada' ['the events of history from another perspective' (trans. by Ferrán)] (Rojo 2004: 44, cited in Ferrán 2007: 32-33). In other words, the grandchildren of the defeated have been able to shine new lights on the past, illuminating it afresh.

Operating at third remove, this generation has been spurred on by an essential search for justice for their predecessors. Juliá and Aguilar have observed:

> La generación de los nietos de los vencidos…tiene la imperiosa necesidad de hacer justicia a sus abuelos, de ver reconocidas públicamente su lucha, su sacrificio y también el sufrimiento de sus familiares, que se vieron obligados a guardar silencio durante el franquismo y a muchos de los que aún atenazaba el miedo y la impotencia a la muerte de Franco. (Rojo 2004: 44, cited in Ferrán 2007: 32-33)
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> [The generation of the grandchildren of the vanquished…has the imperious need to do justice to their grandparents, to make visible their struggle and sacrifice, as well as the suffering of their families, who were forced to be silent during the regime and many of whom were still tortured by fear and impotence after Franco's death. (trans. by Ferrán)]

The thesis reflects these grandchildren's imperative engagement with history: their insistent wish to retrieve the memories of the civil war. It is worth observing that the title of each of the novels covered by the thesis contains the word 'de' ['of/from']: *La sombra del viento* [*The Shadow of the Wind*], *Soldados de Salamina* [*Soldiers of Salamis*], *El lápiz del carpintero* [*The Carpenter's Pencil*], *El hijo del acordeonista* [*The Accordionist's Son*]. These novels convey a sense of legacy from the outset. The thesis also highlights and seeks to address the lack of knowledge about the memory of the war amongst contemporary generations of young Spaniards. The novels create a discursive, inter-generational space that not only symbolises but also helps produce these generations' new-found engagement with their history. However, the thesis argues that the recovery of knowledge of the Spanish past is not only applicable to the descendants of the defeated, but relates to all the Spanish people irrespective of their pasts.

The thesis explores how the corpus of novels represents Spain's autonomous regions and reflects their repression in the Francoist state. *La sombra del viento* and *Soldados de Salamina* are mainly set in Catalonia, *El lápiz del carpintero* in Galicia and *El hijo del acordeonista* in the Basque Country. The thesis is not, however, about returning a regional identity at the level of language. *La sombra del viento* and *Soldados de Salamina* were written in Spanish, *El lápiz del carpintero* in Galician and *El hijo del acordeonista* in Basque; the thesis is based on the novels in Spanish — either the originals or the translations — and the translations of those into English.[3] But through their representations of the repression of language and their geographical settings the thesis investigates how the novels intrinsically link to and also convey the Catalan, Galician and Basque memories of the civil war and Franco era.

More widely, the thesis shows how the novels have a trans-national reach that places the memory of the civil war and the Franco era in an international context. Through their translation into English and many other languages these books contribute to international politics of memory and also reflect the international aspect of Spain's resurgence of memory after around 1998.

The thesis draws on insights from Holocaust studies, including trauma theories and, through Agamben's theory of bare life, the concept of the human.[4] As I have

[3] I explain the thesis policy on translation later in the Introduction.

[4] Although the thesis refers to trauma theories, specifically in the first chapter, which focuses on Abraham and Torok's concept of trans-generational haunting, these theories are only an aspect

indicated, a primary motivation of the belated return of interest in memory in Spain has been the impending death of those who actually experienced the civil war. As in the memory of the Holocaust, our access to direct memories of that event will soon disappear entirely. The memory of the Spanish Civil War also links to Holocaust memory because those who were killed in the Holocaust were not buried in recognisable graves, where their loss could be publicly mourned. Andreas Huyssen has observed that in this sense memories of the Holocaust parallel those of 'the *desaparecidos* [disappeared] in Latin America' (2003: 18). Both spheres of memory are marked by 'the absence of a proper burial site', which, Huyssen reminds us, is vital 'to the nurturing of human memory' (18). Citing Huyssen, Ofelia Ferrán points out that Spain is a similar case in question, 'the mass graves from the civil war' also show that the memory of 'the country's traumatic past' links to "the absence of a proper burial site" (2007: 49).

I will now set out the historical background to the thesis: the eradication of Republican memory under Franco, the disremembrance of recent history in the Transition and the resurgence of memory that followed around two decades later.

The erasure of Republican memories

After the civil war, the memories of the defeated Republicans were twice excluded from the Spanish public sphere. Firstly, during the Franco dictatorship, 1939-75, Republican history was eradicated through the representation of the conflict as an imperial conquest. Secondly, after Franco's death in 1975, under the political terms of the Transition the whole of Spain's recent traumatic past — the war and also the Franco era, including therefore Republican histories — was rendered obsolete through the disremembrance of history.

The victorious Franco regime represented the civil war as an imperial-style conquest of the Republican 'other' linked to Spain's former colonial power. After the end of the war in 1939, the dictatorship used its 'national/Catholic view of [Spanish history] […] to legitimize a national/militarist ideology' (Torres 2001: 102) and continue the Republican repression despite the war being officially over. The level of reprisals against the defeated was particularly intense until 1945 (Richards 1998: 30). In

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of its investigative approach. In other words, the thesis is not what might be termed a trauma theory thesis.

the Cementerio del Este [Cemetery of the East] in Madrid, for example, by that year there were 2,663 registered executions (Casanova 2010: 91). In part of the province of Badajoz there were 935 (91). To date, research shows that in the decade after the war there were a total of over 35,000 executions (91). But the real figure may well be closer to 50,000, though we will never have a complete picture of the numbers involved (91 [see also Tusell 2007: 22-23]).[5] Typically, such deaths were not recorded as such: death certificates for family members were not issued, even to relatives who ventured to identify the bodies of those who had been killed (Richards 1998: 30). Accordingly, there was no culture of public mourning for the defeated side. Immediately after the war, even a public expression of mourning for those executed risked punishment (30).[6]

The repression was characterised by 'silence' (4). The effective stifling of the Republican voice was brought about through several strategies including the regime's control of material resources (22-25). The wholesale and insidious inscription of the war as an imperial triumph aimed to create a national memory, which would unify Spaniards under Francoism. The Republicans were not only portrayed as defeated, but also antithetical to Spain. Consequently, 'official language' referred to '"victors" and "vanquished", "good Spaniards" and "bad Spaniards", "patriots" and "traitors"' (Preston 1995: 37). Moreover, like many of the regime's victims, both historiography that differed from the 'national/Catholic view' and the various individual memories of the Republican constituency were not merely deemed 'other', alternative or secondary to the "master narrative" of Francoism, but were effectively removed from communal perception. Although, for example, the names of the Francoist deceased were inscribed on public memorials to commemorate the war dead, those of the Republicans were consistently omitted (37).

The repression of language in the autonomous regions was a significant part of imposing a distorted historical memory of the civil war. The Franco regime was utterly set on 'Spanish unity', a view that was grounded in the notion of 'a historic Spanish nation', which meant all areas encompassed by 'the frontiers of the Spanish state' (Dowling 2013: 35). A key aspect of the concept of a unified nation was 'a culturally homogeneous, monoglot population' (35). In accordance with this aim, the regime

[5] The figures come from investigations by various historians, documented in *Víctimas de la guerra civil*, edited by Santos Juliá (1999: 407–13). For discussion of the wider context of this work see Graham 2012: n. 8, p. 199.

[6] For details of how the repression and its memory affected 'the civil registration of violent deaths' over time see Preston 2012: xvi-xviii, cited in Graham 2012: n. 9, p. 199-200.

publicly eroded the languages and cultures of the autonomous regions. In Catalonia, for example, after 1939 'the presence of the Catalan culture and language' was erased within the public sphere (38). More than 80 per cent of the population used the language (38).

Despite the economic and social changes in the 1960s, the collective memory imposed by the regime, and its designation of the Republican constituency as intrinsically 'other', remained in place at a socio-political level for the thirty-six-year span of the dictatorship. For nearly four decades, the former Republicans, the so-called "vanquished" had, then, 'to renounce their past, experiences and identity' in Francoist Spain (Cenarro 2002: 167).[7] The Republican presence was characterised by its absence, as if it had never even existed. The legacy was figured as spectral, refused audibility and space.[8]

Spain's break with the past in the Transition

Although the main aim of the Transition appeared to be a formal change in the governmental body or system for Spain, it also encompassed a range of interrelated social and cultural processes. As Ferrán has pointed out, the move to democracy involved:

> [T]he redefinition of a broader set of social institutions and practices […] [a] shift in a broader societal attitude towards power, government and politics in general […] [and] changing views regarding Spain's past and its status as a multi-nation state. (2000: 192)

Scholars suggest different dates for the temporal span of the Transition, leaving it open to considerable interpretation (192-94). The most commonly recognised date for its beginning is Franco's death on November 20, 1975, though the assassination of his designated successor, Admiral Luis Carrero Blanco, by the Basque terrorist organisation ETA on December 20, 1973 is also often given (192). Franco's expected legacy was

[7] See also Cenarro 2002: 172, 185 on the loss of collective memory as a result of exclusion from public space.

[8] The idea of a ghostly past that haunts the Spanish present is a recurrent theme of the thesis. In particular, the first chapter investigates Abraham and Torok's notion of the trans-generational "phantom", while the third chapter explores the philosophical concept of hauntology, the theory of the simultaneously absent and present spectre from Jacques Derrida's *Specters of Marx* (1994).

curtailed by the killing of Carrero Blanco, who had been set to ensure the survival of the regime after Franco's death (Romero 1999: 157).[9] In terms of obvious political change, scholars suggest the Transition ended somewhere between 1978 and 1993. Some set the end date as December 27, 1978, when the new Constitution took effect (Ferrán 2000: 192). But others regard it as February 23, 1981, when a failed attempt at a military coup d'état, led by Colonel Antonio Tejero, ultimately served to reinforce the sense of Spain as a viable parliamentary democracy (192).[10] According to Gregorio Morán, the Transition finished in 1982, when the Partido Socialista Obrero Español (PSOE) [Spanish Socialist Party] led by Felipe González won the national elections (1991: 23).[11] However, Teresa Vilarós suggests the Transition remained incomplete until 1993, when Spain was a signatory to the Maastricht treaty, under the terms of which the European Economic Community became the European Union (Ferrán 2000: 192).[12] For Vilarós, this moment signalled 'la definitiva y efectiva inserción de España en la nueva constelación europea' ['Spain's effective and definitive insertion in the new European framework'] (1998: 1). The country's decision to become a full member of the European political and economic structures marked a complete break with the isolationism which had typified much of the Franco era (5). Spain's 'international integration' had begun under Franco, when in 1955 it was controversially admitted to the United Nations (Ferrán 2000: 193). But the join to the European framework meant from this moment on Spain would no longer be marginalised within Europe (Vilarós 1998: 5).

[9] Ferrán states that some scholars have maintained the grounds for the Transition were already being laid in the latter stages of the Franco era, when Spain was clearly showing signs of economic development and there was 'a certain loosening of official censorship in cultural matters' (2000: 193). However, she cautions that the idea of a 'pre-transition' has various pitfalls: some revisionist readers of the Franco regime have taken the notion 'to mean that Franco should, in fact, be credited with preparing Spain for democracy', a conclusion that scarcely stands scrutiny 'given the fact, among many others, that the general was signing death sentences for opponents to his regime virtually on his death-bed' (193). See also Vilaseca 2010: 7-8 and n. 16, p. 17.

[10] The storming of parliament was one of five bids by what was called 'the bunker' and its military backers to stop democracy 'in the name of the Nationalist victory in the Civil War' (Preston 1995: 39). There were year-on-year attempts from 1978 to 1982 (39-40).

[11] The final failed attempt at a coup by 'the bunker' and its military adherents was made on the eve of the elections (Preston 1995: 39-40).

[12] Spain joined the European Economic Community (EEC) in 1986. Internally, the campaign for membership was heavily promoted by the Socialist government (Desfor Edles 1998: 147).

A new political memory

Ferrán observes that the lack of consensus about the dates of the Transition not only means it is unclear when a 'process of change' took place, but for certain aspects of the Transition whether indeed it actually did (2000: 194). However, regardless of its temporal parameters, the defining feature of the Transition was its apparent break with the recent past in the form of an evident end with the Franco era and all it represented. The Transition was innately identified with progress. The forgetting of the past entailed 'the invention of a new political memory' (Cardús i Ros 2000: 25), which had no past to draw upon. Similarly, the memory had no adversary. A Transition 'carried out *against* the dictatorship' was perceived as potentially explosive since it would take Spain back to 'the memory — or rather, the diverse and counterposed memories — of the dramatic division of Spanish society in the Civil War' (20, italics in original). In lieu of an acknowledgement — and thus, I would venture, a potential integration — of previous events, Spain's move to democracy was predicated on 'a process of historical and social amnesia' along with 'the invention of a *new* political tradition' (18, italics in original). The Transition involved 'rather complex strategies of "invisibilization"' that included 'both intentional *forgetting* and the production of false records of events' (18-19, italics in original). The forgetting of the past — in the form of 'the erasure of memory' — thus underlay Spanish democracy (19).

A key aspect of the transition to democracy was the economic recession, which was defined by 'the oil crisis of 1973' (Graham and Quiroga 2012: 15). Spain's rapid economic growth in the 1960s had served to underpin the Franco regime for some time (16). But the 'cultural transformation' thus produced, along with 'society's expectations' of greater 'material wealth' — which the regime was already finding it hard to meet when the oil crisis put paid to any hope of doing so — fuelled 'a latent crisis of legitimacy' (16). Along with inflation, unemployment shot up, which was heightened by economic migrants coming back to Spain (16). Numerous strikes and demonstrations ensued (16). In particular, the first weeks of 1976 were marked by a huge increase in 'las convocatorias de huelgas y encierros, de mítines, asambleas y manifestaciones' ['calls for strikes and sit-ins, for political rallies, meetings and demonstrations'] (Juliá 2017: 356). In Madrid, for instance, perhaps nearly '320,000 trabajadores llegaron a estar en huelga' ['320,000 workers were actually on strike'] by the middle of January (Juliá 2017: 356 [see also Tusell 2007: 277]).

Although the Transition appeared to be about a break with the recent past, Spain's move to democracy was engineered from within the Franco regime (Ribeiro de Menezes 2014: 15). The change to a democratic constitution was managed by an 'establishment insider' Adolfo Suárez (Graham and Quiroga 2012: 21). At one time, he had been a 'Falangist civil governor' (23). Suárez made a pact with 'the democratic left', as he needed its support to ward off the threat that was posed to democracy by 'die-hard Francoist sectors', particularly those in the military (21-22).

Suárez was helped by the presence of a monarch, Juan Carlos, who accepted the idea of reform and was also 'Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces' (23). For the 'bunker', he therefore stood as 'a guarantee of Francoist continuity', which meant Suárez could push through the various reforms under his aegis (23). Juan Carlos appointed Tourcuato Fernández Miranda as 'President of the *Cortes* and the Council of the Realm' (Tusell 2007: 275). A former vice-chancellor of Oviedo University, Fernández Miranda was a highly experienced regime insider 'with extensive legal and political knowledge' (122 and 275). In spite of his past, he was strongly conscious of the need to "sweep out the bunker and include the left" and he convinced the king that this could be legally done (275).

The transition to democracy was effected legal step by legal step: "de ley a ley" ["from law to law"] in the well-known expression of Fernández Miranda (Tusell 2007: 283, cited in Ribeiro de Menezes 2014: 15). The judicial project 'no era *de* reforma sino *para* la reforma' ['was not *of* reform, but *for* reform'] (Juliá 2017: 374, italics in original). Suárez's government thus created 'un plan que condujera a la convocatoria de elecciones generales por sufragio universal' ['a plan that would lead to the announcement of general elections of universal suffrage'] (374).

Historians generally agree that the Transition was characterised by gradual reform, which intended to avoid 'a complete break with the past', because the military and the "bunker" were limiting stops on 'radical change' (Ribeiro de Menezes 2014: 15). The caution with which Suárez moved towards political pluralism underlines the fragility that characterised that time (15). In April 1977, he initially legalised the 'political opposition', except for the Spanish Communist Party, the PCE (15). But shortly after he legalized the PCE on Easter Saturday when the political class was on holiday (Tusell 2007: 288).

The Transition ultimately took the form of a "ruptura pactada" ["concerted rupture"] with the past (Tusell 2007: 279). By means of the 'Ley para la Reforma

Política' ['Law of Political Reform'] Suárez's government created a basic 'institutional framework', to allow elections to be called (Tusell 2007: 283). In passing the 'Ley para la Reforma Política' ['Law of Political Reform'] the Francoist Cortes committed 'political hara-kiri' (Carr and Fusi 1981: 221). In other words, the Cortes voted 'a favor de un proyecto de ley que implicaba su desaparición' ['in favour of a law project that entailed its disappearance'] (Juliá 2017: 380 [see also Tusell 2007: 283-84]).

Part of the package of the Ley para la Reforma Política was that it had to be put to the people: 'its text had to be ratified in a national referendum' (Tusell 2007: 284). This took place on 15 December 1977 (Juliá 2017: 381). Over 77 per cent of the population voted, of whom 94.2 per cent were in favour (381). The outcome showed, then, a great deal of social support for the process of democratization that was already in train, but also incomplete (Tusell 2007: 285).

The Transition was founded on 'a *de facto* political amnesty, based on the so-called "pact of silence"' ['"pacto del olvido"'] (Graham 2004: 322 [Graham and Quiroga 2012: 29]).[13] Democracy was brought into being on the basis that there would be no judicial calls to account for actions carried out during the Franco era or the civil war, nor anything like 'a Truth and Reconciliation Commission' (322). The amnesty, which was drawn up in October 1977, was an all-round pardon (Graham and Quiroga 2012: 22). As well as forgiving those who had subjected 'political dissenters' to imprisonment and torture, it also "forgave" their victims (22). To put it another way, 'the political prisoners of the Francoist opposition' were released, but the amnesty extended to 'the entire apparatus of the [r]egime itself' (Juliá 2003: 20, cited in Ribeiro de Menezes 2014: 16-17). The idea of breaking with recent history was something that nearly everyone subscribed to: the "pacto del olvido" effectively held sway 'across the entire political spectrum' with the exception of the extremists (Preston 1995: 33). The latter included 'radical Basque separatist and extreme left parties', all of which were opposed to the idea of 'the reformist path to democracy' per se (Davis 2005: 866).

The chief characteristic of the Transition was, then, 'a high level of consensus' (Balfour 2005: 1). Consensus was paramount to the installation of democratic rule, since the creation of the new state depended on the involvement of those who had

[13] The "pacto del olvido" is often translated into English as the "pact of forgetting" (Ferrán 2007: 24, 40) or the "pact of oblivion" (Preston 1995: 33, Labanyi 2007: 93-94, 2009: 27). I use the translation of it as the "pact of silence", given by Graham amongst others, which precisely conveys its effect.

opposed the regime and former Francoists. In the interest of advancing a democratic state the entirety of Spain's recent history was designated best forgotten. But since the new form of government relied on the involvement of the political left and the right no differentiation was exercised towards their respective histories. As Gregorio Morán highlights, the guiding principle of democracy was applied to the non-democratic past:

> La ingenua convención de igualdad ante la ley fue sustituida por la retorcida presunción de que todos los pasados eran igualmente perjudiciales y por tanto convenía instalarlos en el armario de los cadáveres. (Morán 1991: 77, cited in Ferrán 2000: 195)
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> [The ingenuous convention of equality before the law was replaced by the convoluted supposition that all pasts were equally harmful and therefore it was agreed to place them all in the cupboard of corpses. (My translation)]

Labanyi suggests the concept of a political "pacto del olvido" was disseminated by Paloma Aguilar's seminal study *Memoria y olvido de la Guerra Civil española* [*Memory and Amnesia: The Role of the Spanish Civil War in the Transition to Democracy*] (1996) (Labanyi 2009: 27 [See also Labanyi 2007: 93 and n. 11, p. 93]). However, it seems the idea of a "pacto del olvido" was suggested by the historian Manuel Pérez Ledesma at "I Congreso de Historia Social de España" [The 1st Conference of Spanish Social History] in 1990. Pérez remarked:

> Creo que los españoles no tenemos suficiente memoria de nuestro propio pasado. El franquismo destruyó la memoria histórica del pueblo español. […] la transición, que ha tenido aspectos muy positivos, sin embargo se basó en un pacto de olvido, pero el olvido se ha extendido no sólo al franquismo sino a toda la historia contemporánea.
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> [I believe that Spaniards do not have enough memory of our own past. Francoism destroyed the historical memory of the Spanish people. (…) the transition, which had very positive aspects, nevertheless based itself on a pact of

forgetting, but the forgetting extended itself not only to Francoism but also to all contemporary history. (My translation)][14]

For Labanyi, the concept of a "pacto del olvido" has become 'a commonplace' that masks the fact — for both the political right and the left — that the Transition was brought into being 'by politicians from within the former Francoist state apparatus' (2007: 93-94). Similarly, López claims the '"pacto de silencio o amnesia" ['pact of silence or amnesia'] shows that the other face of the politics of consensus' was the continuation of 'institutions and administrative apparatuses inherited from the previous regime', along with the fact that 'those […] responsible for forty years of a highly repressive dictatorship, have […] never been brought to justice', and, in some instances, have served 'in successive democratic governments' (2005: 81). In this respect, Spain's political decision rendered the country an international anomaly. Following Aguilar, Madeleine Davis comments that 'Spain's contemporary democratic regime is the only one of the twentieth century *not* to have called prior leaders to account' (Aguilar 2001: n. 16, p. 98, cited in Davis 2005: 864, italics in original).

As we have seen, the Transition's essential character — a 'slow "ruptura pactada" ["concerted rupture"]' — meant that aspects of justice to do with the civil war and Francoist past were left unaddressed (Ribeiro de Menezes 2014: 15-16). However, as Ribeiro de Menezes points out, 'legal amnesties' are not set in stone, but can be revisited (17). But given the time that has elapsed since the civil war and Francoist repression took place, the idea of 'enacting retrospective justice' now would be an immensely difficult task (19).

Disremembering in lieu of forgetting

Politically, the amnesty and the accompanying "pacto del olvido" were accepted by those who negotiated with the regime 'for fear of the army and the considerable residual firepower of the civilian extreme right' (Graham 2004: 322). The silencing of the past was viewed 'as the lesser of the available evils' (322). Although the Transition might be retrospectively viewed as peaceful, this was not a structural "given" (Graham and Quiroga 2012: 16). There was an ever-present risk of 'large-scale violence' (16). In

[14] *ABC*, 23rd September 1990, p. 62.

the early 1970s, by and large the Franco regime retained the backing of the army and 100,000 members of the Falange, the dictatorship's only party, were still allowed to carry guns (Preston 1990 [1986]: 57, cited in Graham and Quiroga 2012: 17). The possibility of violence was heightened by the economic recession: there was a wide base of social support for Francoism and as 'small-town conservatives, including small businesses' found themselves facing economic decline they were even more reliant on the regime to survive (17). There was, then, a high risk of widespread violence (17).

As we have seen, the dominant consensus of Transitional Spain was that 'it was better not to dig up the past' as this might provoke another civil war (Ferrán 2007: 25). From this standpoint the military coup that was attempted in 1981 was viewed as a stark 'reminder of the very real possibility of such a return to violence' (25). Although the would-be coup led by Colonel Antonio Tejero was unsuccessful in its bid 'to reverse the constitutional order' that was now in place in Spain it had a very strong after-effect (Graham 2012: 138). The attempted military takeover provoked a great deal of fear amongst Spaniards; amongst other things, it extinguished 'the possibility of a more open public attitude to the recent past' (138). For example, although there had been exhumations of the mass graves from the civil war in 1979-1980, 'fears of instability' arising from the coup attempt effectively halted these (Ribeiro de Menezes 2014: 15).

The events of the Tejero coup are directly re-visited in Javier Cercas's *Anatomía de un instante* [*The Anatomy of a Moment*] (2009). The novel is an 'historically rigorous' assessment of 23rd February 1981 (Wheeler 2017: 442). Perhaps more significantly, *Anatomía de un instante* closely examines 'the meaning of democracy', a word and concept that has become particularly freighted at a time when Spaniards are increasingly suspicious of what was previously thought to be 'an exemplary Transition', questioning the extent to which it enabled the prolongation of 'dictatorial practices to the present-day' (442). Cercas's novel demonstrates how the unsuccessful coup on 23rd February 1981 was not only a defining moment for Spanish democracy, but also one when various people, not only from the political establishment, but also wider society, were inclined to make 'an intervention against the Prime Minister Adolfo Suárez' (Ribeiro de Menezes 2014: 23). The novel's dissection of the coup shows how it stemmed from a high level of 'political and popular dissatisfaction with Suárez's administration' (23). The role of Juan Carlos, who was head of the armed forces and the designated successor to Franco is the most intensely disputed aspect of the various accounts of what took place (Wheeler 2017: 443). Cercas's novel invites us to take

another look at the king's slowness 'to address the nation and denounce the illegal insurrectionists' (445). However, the question the novel asks is less 'whether the coup was going to be successful' and more what kind of coup was going to take place, and the extent to which it 'might be redeemed as a pragmatic concession to the consolidation of Spanish democracy' (446). The unviability of this option was demonstrated not only by Tejero's particular demands but also the television footage (446). In the event, the overthrowing of what had become 'a hard coup attempt', characterised by farce, was instrumental in putting a stop to possible 'future military uprisings', as well as 'the consolidation of a liberal parliamentary democracy' (446). *Anatomía de un instante* articulates, albeit scarcely exhausts, 'the question of how and why a significant proportion of the Spanish population has adopted a somnolent attitude to ostensibly democratic rule' (458). As Cercas's novel indicates, a coup that would potentially go out of control 'paved the way for a symbolic and popular ratification of a highly-controlled democracy' (458).

The idea of writing a political line between the present and the past rendered the past a kind of discursive 'no-go' — a legacy to be accepted rather than questioned. In other words, there was a kind of linguistic cordoning off. Although the tacit agreement to forget the recent past was determined in the political sphere, crucially, it proliferated throughout Spanish society (Davis 2005: 866). In public, the 'will to forget' appeared widespread (866). According to Balfour, the Spanish people participated in the silencing of the past either 'gratefully or unwillingly' since 'historical amnesia was an unarticulated price of democratic change' (2000: 282). Newly democratic Spain was thus effectively founded on a 'suspension of memory', or perhaps we should say the voicing of memory amongst its people (Davis 2005: 866).[15]

Rather than an unintended absent-mindedness or forgetfulness, the historical and social amnesia was composed of 'desmemoria' ['disremembering/disremembrance']: a deliberate, active, conscious forgetting of past events by setting them apart from consciousness and refusing to grant them significance in the present. Santos Juliá has argued that the process of disremembering involves remembering in the first instance

[15] Michael Richards points out that the silence about the past was not absolute, since there was 'a broad politics of memory […] alive in the 1970s', which belatedly showed 'the war's directly felt effects' from the 1940s and 1950s: 'the sense of mourning, bitterness and division' (2006: 88). For example, in the early 1970s protests broke out against '[d]evotional confraternities' that annually sought to re-inscribe the Francoist historical memory, with its twin motifs of 'sacrifice' and 'the shame of the revolution', by processing — publicly walking in procession with — 'religious images founded during and associated with the civil war' (88).

and then deciding to forget. For him, actively choosing to forget historical events suggests "a conscious act of facing the past" and in recalling its actuality deciding to ensure "the past will not determine the future" [trans. by Cenarro] (1999: 50, cited in Cenarro 2002: 171). However, Santos Juliá's argument that the past can effectively be dispensed with 'has been questioned by those who consider that the past cannot be forgotten, since any such attempt entails the return of the past in different ways' (Cenarro 2002: 171). As the thesis illustrates, the past will always come back as eventually happened in Spain.

Michael Richards observes that since '[a] conscious strategy of "forgetting"' is one that presupposes remembering, the fact that the past could not just be forgotten signals it was very much present in post-Franco Spain (2002: n. 70, p. 120). Its supposed removal notwithstanding, the past was always there. For historians, the civil war 'remained the overriding issue' (Preston 1995: 34). More widely, despite the prevailing climate of 'concord and reconciliation', either '[d]irectly or indirectly' the memory of the war 'continued to weigh upon the conscience of most Spaniards' (Torres 2001: 98).

Retrospectively, the civil war was constructed as a "fratricidal conflict": a tragedy in which both sides had suffered, and which it was in everybody's interest to forget.[16] Consequently, although the former Republicans were not repressed under the conditions of the Transition, once again their history was, because, as under Franco, their memories were stifled, refused a voice. The notion of 'oblivion […] falsely closed the wounds' of both the Franco era and the civil war (Torres 2001: 98).[17] Gregorio Morán suggests the level of 'desmemoria' was such that transitional Spain became a "Reino de desmemoriados" ["Realm of disrememberers"] (1991: 75, cited in Ferrán 2000: 195).[18] The adoption of a conscious strategy of forgetting extended throughout Spanish society, regardless of political affiliations. Helen Graham has remarked that the "pacto del olvido" was necessary because of the widespread 'complicity of "ordinary Spaniards" in the [Francoist] repression' (2004: 324). As a result of the culture of denunciations that was openly encouraged by the regime, 'hundreds of thousands of

[16] Plenary lecture by Michael Richards at 'War without Limits' conference, University of Bristol, 17th July 2006.
[17] Spain overlaps with post-war Germany in this respect: 'A comparable oblivion of recent history is said to have helped naturalize an unfamiliar democratic mentality in post-Nazi Germany' (Mommsen 1987: 89, cited in Resina 2000a: 91).
[18] See also Ferrán 2007: 143.

people' denounced their 'neighbours, acquaintances and often […] [also] family members' (324). The complicity was not, then, limited to the public sphere; it also infiltrated the private domain. Such denouncers were not only impelled to act 'for political reasons', but also 'many sorts of other reasons' (324). Thus, '*widespread social fear* […] underlay the "pact of silence"' and held it intact (324, italics in original). Crucially, such fear was not limited to those who had actually done the denouncing, but filtered through to the following generation. The social climate of 'fear and guilt' was all encompassing: it pervaded 'the families *and heirs* of those who [had] denounced and murdered' as well as of those who were victims of such acts (324, italics added).

Paloma Aguilar has argued that since analogies could be made between the Transition and the time of the civil war, its memory 'representó un papel repulsor que favoreció el consenso' (1996: 36) ['played a warning role which favoured consensus' (2002: 9)]. Thus, the past loomed large in the present. Although the similarity between the Spain of the 1970s and that of the 1930s was perceived to be greater than it actually was, since some semblance existed it fostered a 'miedo a la repetición' (36) ['fear of repetition' (9)].

The "pacto del olvido" had significant ramifications for the collective memory of the civil war. Although memory is individually experienced, as Maurice Halbwachs emphasized, it is always collectively and socially constituted (1992: 38). The construction of memories is not therefore contingent on temporal linearity, but the common perspective of a group, such as a family or wider social community (52). As a result of the disremembrance of the past — encapsulated by the notion of the "pacto del olvido" — the memory of the victims of Francoism remained publicly unacknowledged. As in the time of Franco, the Republican losses were, then, left unmourned. Mourning for historical and political losses takes place within collective memory: 'public, social and cultural practices and discourses' (Davis 2005: 866). But since there was no open recognition of the corporeal or experiential remains of the victims in Spanish society no mourning could take place.

Irrespective of the 'new political freedoms' that were part and parcel of the Transition, it also left no room 'for a true critical reflection about the past' (Ferrán 2000: 194). Although the construction of 'a viable democracy' was clearly a vast achievement, Spain's apparently seamless move into democracy was attained at

considerable cost: 'the loss of an opportunity to reflect deeply on the nature and legacy of the Franco regime and of the recent Spanish past in general' (195).[19]

The thesis builds on Jo Labanyi's argument, from Derrida's reading of ghosts in *Specters of Marx* (1994), that the denial of memory to the Republican defeated meant they returned to haunt the Spanish present in the form of a spectral legacy. Primarily, the thesis draws on Teresa Vilarós's contention that the 'reforma política' ['political reform'] that was central to the Transition was accompanied by a 'ruptura psíquica con la historia reciente' ['psychic rupture with recent history'] (1998: 16). Although the Transition was openly predicated on a political message of "reforma" ["reform"] rather than "ruptura" ["rupture"], at the same time it relied on 'la eliminación súbita de toda referencia al pasado inmediato franquista' ['the abrupt elimination of all reference to the immediate Francoist past'] (16). The sudden severance had symbolic significance amongst the Spanish people: the "pacto del olvido" ["pact of oblivion"] was something 'al que fervorosamente se aferró el imaginario colectivo español' ['to which the Spanish collective imaginary fervently clung'] (16).[20] However, Vilarós emphasizes that the repressed memories of the civil war and dictatorship era remained as a kind of festering disease, a 'quiste purulento' ['purulent cyst'] that inhabited the collective imaginary (14).

These memories did not lie dormant, but emerged through the gaps and crevices of Spain's 'modern official discourse', thereby constantly threatening 'to unravel the stability of its hard-won new cultural and political identity' (Vilarós 1998: 13-18, cited in Vilaseca 2010: 10).[21] In other words, the suppressed memories posed a constant danger to the solidity of the Spanish Transition: something that might cause it to break down. Despite all appearances to the contrary, at root, the present was, then, badly blistered by the past. Spanish society remained deeply affected by its recent history, plagued by its very existence.

For Vilarós, the Transition is thus epistemologically comparable to an immense chronic dark mass, an 'agujero negro' ['black hole'] that lurked at the core of democratic Spain. This period is therefore thinkable:

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[19] My wording here draws on the title of Morán's critique *El precio de la transición* [The price of the transition] (1991).

[20] In this instance I use the translation "pact of oblivion" to convey the notion of a rupture.

[21] In this respect, Vilarós likens the Transition to 'the Lacanian Real' (Vilaseca 2010: 10 and n. 20, p. 17). See Vilarós 1998: 11 and 19-20.

> [C]omo un espacio/tiempo colgado entre dos paradigmas históricos que a su vez, y debido a las características sociopolíticas del particular momento español, se dirime también en el imaginario social como el momento de negación psíquica con una brutal y totalitaria estructura patriarcal y represora (Franco y el franquismo). (1998: 20, cited in Vilaseca 2010: 10-11)
>
> [(A)s a space/time that is hanging between two historical paradigms, a space/time, moreover, which, due to the socio-political characteristics of that particular Spanish moment, also settled in the social imaginary as a moment of psychic negation with a brutal and totalitarian patriarchal and repressive structure (that of Franco and Francoism). (Vilaseca's translation)]

Inherently 'tensado por diferentes y opuestas fuerzas' ['strained by different and conflicting forces'], the Transition was a chasm 'en la sintaxis histórica que si bien permite por un lado iniciar en el posfranquismo una nueva escritura, agazapa en su seno todo un pasado conflictivo que el colectivo "pacto del olvido" reprimió' ['in the historical syntax which if on the one hand it allows the first steps of a new writing in post-Francoism, on the other crouches in its heart a whole conflictive past which the collective "pact of oblivion" had repressed'] (20). While the recent past created a new beginning, it also contained, then, 'la cara oscura de la fisura transicional, la profunda herida sufrida por el inconsciente colectivo español' ['the dark face of the transitional fissure, the deep wound suffered by the Spanish collective unconscious'] (20).

Spain's acceleration into modernity

Labanyi contends that Spain's drawing of a political line between the present and the past was necessary not only to show that the country had now detached itself from a dictatorship of almost forty years, but also that it was 'making a "leap" into modernity', a move that is traditionally associated with the notion of 'a rupture with the past' (2007: 91 and 94). The progressive stride primarily took a cultural form (94). Although there was great economic growth in Spain for about a decade up until the mid-1980s, since there had already been very rapid 'economic modernization' in the dictatorship era, this followed what had previously occurred (94). For Labanyi, the Spanish jump into modernity was characterised by a kind of cultural rush, whereby Spaniards charged to catch up 'with lifestyles seen as the hallmark of Western

modernity', by acquiring them as such (94).[22] Crucially, these lifestyles were understood as contingent on 'the excision of all reference to the past' (94). The Transition equated, then, to the exhibition of a cultural change of gear. The showing of Spain as a modern Western nation, which was partly about attracting international attention, was strongly promoted by the Socialist government of 1982-96 (94). An extensive, official public relations drive sought to promote the country's cultural output — including, for instance, films by Pedro Almodóvar — in a bid to re-brand Spain internationally 'as a young, brash, ultramodern nation' that outclassed its Western European neighbours 'in its iconoclasm' (94).

Joan Ramon Resina has made a similar argument: that the culture of the Transition simulated a total severance from the recent past. For him, the shift was about adopting 'postmodernity', which was perceived in Spain as 'ultramodernity' (2000a: 92). Recent history was drawn as not just temporally distant, but also culturally and socially 'other'. However, temporality was a key component of the cultural change (92). While the nation's evolution into postmodernity was accelerated, the past was culturally constructed as 'a country where old people had once lived' (92). Internally, the Socialist government of 1982-96 promoted Spain's cultural makeover by installing a postmodern image in its major urban centres. In Madrid, for example, money was poured into creating a 'highly publicized postmodern look' (89). According to Resina, the underlying motivation for the Socialists' promotion was to counter the balance of power linked to the 'historical memory', so, culturally to certify Spain's severance from its Francoist past (92). They therefore sought to alter 'the perception of Spain's temporality' by speeding up 'the country's modernization' (92). Thus, the Transition was characterised by both a break with the past and an extreme pace of change. The velocity was such that Spaniards effectively had 'to live in different time frames at once', as they experienced concurrently 'what in the rest of Europe […] [had] been successive stages of development' (Graham and Labanyi 1995: 312).[23]

The return of the silenced past to public discourse

The collective wish to forget recent history lasted more than twenty years, but from the late 1990s it began to lose the political emphasis placed on it 'by the "agreed-upon"

[22] For illustrations of this process, see, for example, Montero 1995: 315-20, Dent Coad: 373-76 and 376-80, and Graham and Sánchez: 408-10.
[23] See also Montero 1995: 315.

transition' (Torres 2001: 98). Spaniards were less reluctant to question the past for fear of adversely affecting the spirit of "reconciliación nacional" ["national reconciliation"] (Davis 2005: 870). They gradually began to peer through the gauze of 'oblivion and caution', which had been draped over the history of the civil war and the Franco era (Torres 2001: 111).

A tremendous 'resurgence of interest' in Spain's recent history and 'the repressive legacy of Francoism' ensued (Davis 2005: 859). In different ways, the "Reino de desmemoriados" (1991: 75, cited in Ferrán 2000: 195) altered into a "Reino de memoriados" ["Realm of remembering subjects"] about the country's past. The reappearance of memory resulted from a combination of factors that were internal and external to Spain (Davis 2005: 867). In particular, the country's recent Francoist history became a focus of public attention when legal action was brought against the former Chilean dictator Augusto Pinochet (867). In July 1996, as part of a wider inquiry investigating 'the human rights crimes of Latin America's southern cone dictatorships', Spanish magistrates filed 'charges of genocide and terrorism' against him and several of his associates (867-68). In October 1998, Pinochet was arrested in London at the request of two Spanish judges — Baltasar Garzón Real and Manuel García Castellón — who sought his extradition to Spain for trial (868). The Pinochet affair spawned intense media coverage in Spain (868-70). In the press, parallels were drawn between Pinochet and Franco, while acres of coverage were given to 'the testimonies made before the Spanish judges by hundreds of victims and exiles of the southern cone regimes' (868-70).

The Pinochet case reverberated amongst the Spanish people (869). Effectively, it cut into Spain's blanket of silence about its own recent past. Both in the press and the political arena, criticisms of the conditions of the Transition began to be heard (870). Spain's recent history was compared to that of Chile. There were speculations that, just as in that country, the 'failure or inability to confront the past might yet have consequences for the present' (870).

The case of the Chilean dictator was like a charge to spark debate about historical memory in Spain. It meant the "pacto del olvido" that had held sway for over twenty years started to fracture in Spanish society. A steady stream of recollections quickly built to a spate of historical analyses, television documentaries, films, testimonies, personal memoirs and novels (Blakely 2005: 49, Davis 2005: 873-74,

Graham 2004: 325-26, Labanyi 2007: 95 and López 2005: 79 and n. 1, pp. 93-94).[24] The volume of the flood was such that it became a "memory boom", a name that in this context registers not only a period of unexpected beneficial activity but also a profound sensory resonance, as if what had been kept quiet for so long was now clamouring to be heard (Labanyi 2007: 95). Noticeably, the 'boom' was not a short-lived phenomenon, but an outpouring of memories that intensified after 2002 (Labanyi 2009: 26). A decade after the beginning of the 'boom', the number of novels focusing on or after the civil war appeared to have decreased (Labanyi 2008: 119). However, some critics suggest that in many ways the "memory boom" remained a significant feature of Spanish culture for some 15 years (Ribeiro de Menezes 2014: 6 [see also Ryan 2014: 7]). Moreover, as we will see, in the literary sphere, which is the one the thesis centres on, the memory boom appears not yet to have come to an end.

The fracturing of the "pacto del olvido" meant that instead of being subjected to silence, the memory of the civil war and the Francoist past became a matter of public debate. Importantly, as Labanyi highlights, despite the prevalence of the "pacto del olvido" in Spanish society, an intermittent '*cultural* discourse' about the war and Francoist past had already existed (2009: 26, italics in original). In the first two decades of democracy, various 'historical studies, novels, testimonies and documentary and feature films' were made (26). But as this discussion was without political accompaniment, it did not produce any 'public debate' about the war and Francoist past (26). However, following Carmen Moreno-Nuño (2006), Brenneis points out that these 'cultural productions' effectively punctured the "pact of silence" and thus broke through its barrier(s) to 'historical re-examination' (2008: 63). The cultural output worked to open Spaniards' consciousness to aspects of the recent past that had been rendered politically 'taboo', simultaneously becoming the means by which Spain 'would begin to […] [envisage] itself as a product of its past conflicts' (63).[25] Although the cultural discourse did not generate wider public discussion, it was, then, already working on Spain's silenced memories. In other words, while the nation did not yet see itself as such, the cultural productions were initiating a future mental picture of its identity.

[24] The historical works included *Los niños perdidos de franquismo* by Ricard Vinyes et al. (2002) about 'the theft of children from Republican families by Francoists' and *Esclavos por la patria* by Isaías Lafuente (2002) documenting 'Franco's use of Republican prisoners as forced labour' (Davis 2005: n. 66, p. 874).

[25] For Brenneis's American English word 'envision', I have here substituted 'envisage', which is more common in British English.

The resurgence of public discussion about Spain's recent history was partly invigorated by international politics of memory. The Spanish action against Pinochet became a topic of worldwide debate which meant that Spain's politics of memory were shot to international attention (Davis 2005: 868-70). In addition, the Spanish "memory boom" links to a wider European "memory boom" that followed the collapse of communism in 1989. The historian Dan Stone has contended that the end of the Cold War was in a sense the real beginning of the post-war of the Second World War in Europe, as it meant the dismantling of 'the postwar consensus', which had prevailed in Europe from 1945 (2014: 266-67). Since 1989 there has been an unravelling of the consensus politically and socially through the expiry of 'the welfare-capitalist state in Western Europe' and the breakdown of '"actually existing socialism" in Eastern Europe' (266). But this has also happened culturally, including, most evidently, in the area of collective memory (266).

In a conceptual sense, Stone suggests that the years since 1989 'are the "real" postwar years', as it was only after this time that there could be an open debate about 'the meanings of the Second World War […] in which all sides could be heard' (267). The end of the Cold War spelt both an opportunity to expose the falseness of 'longstanding myths' about the Second World War, but 'more darkly, to express views that were long regarded as dead or, at best, marginal, in both east and west' (267). Revisionist views unravelled the kind of 'post-war myths' that had helped to style the fabric of 'social reconstruction', for example, that '"everyone" had been in the Resistance in France or Italy' (268). But the reducing sway of such myths also allowed 'the return of arguments that characterised the "other side" of the consensus' (268). All sorts of controversial views — 'fascist, ultra-nationalist, anti-semitic, and xenophobic' — which 'it had been impossible (in the east) or difficult (in the west) openly to articulate gained strength and confidence' (268).

Since 1989 there has been a European "memory boom" regarding the Second World War, which both reflects and creates 'new challenges to European identity and politics' (270). The end of the Cold War brought about, then, a great change in Europeans' memories of the Second World War and a new post-war consciousness. A clear consequence of this change has been a great deal of overt contestation about the memory, or rather memories, of the Second World War (266).

The reconfiguration of Spain's collective memory

The emergence of the previously invisible past created a new historical narrative in Spain. It introduced new knowledge about the past and the potential future — truths excluded from the apparently replete present of the Transition. In particular, the recovery of Spain's spectral past created a vital psychic space for mourning Republican histories and memories.

One of the foremost features of the resurgence of memory has been the movement to find and exhume the graves of those executed during and after the civil war. The excavations have been spearheaded by the *Asociación para la recuperación de la memoria histórica* [Association for the Recovery of Historical Memory] (ARMH). The ARMH is a civil organisation, which grew out of 'a private initiative' in October 2000 by a journalist Emilio Silva to exhume a grave in Priaranza del Bierzo in León, in which 'thirteen Republican *noncombatants*' had been buried after execution (Davis 2005: 871, italics added).[26] Silva's personal interest in unearthing the mass grave had an inter-generational component: one of those killed was his grandfather (871). The ARMH rapidly grew into a nationwide voluntary network for investigations into unmarked graves and exhumations, and also a gathering place for the testimonies of those whose relatives suffered Francoist repression (871).

Various critics have observed that the exhumations of mass graves have come to symbolise the idea of uncovering the memory of the civil war and Francoist past that was supposedly laid to rest in the Transition. As Michael Richards remarks, 'the excavations of mass civil war burial pits' have become a powerful symbol for 'unearthing' the 'buried past' (2006: 85). In Labanyi's phrase, the work carried out by the ARMH literally embodies the idea of "digging up the past" (2007: 95).

Since the formation of the ARMH, the phrase "*recuperación de la memoria histórica*" ["recovery of historical memory"] has come to typify 'the need for present-day Spaniards to engage with the unresolved legacy of the civil war and the ensuing repression' (106).[27] However, scholars have also pointed out that the notion of a "*recuperación de la memoria histórica*" is somewhat problem-laden (Richards 2006, Labanyi 2007 and 2009, Ferrán 2007, Ribeiro de Menezes 2010). For Richards, the term 'historical memory' is itself problematic partly because, paradoxically, it seems to over-

[26] See also Balfour 2005: 4.
[27] While the ARMH is its best-known exponent, the movement to recover 'historical memory' actually consists of 'several organisations' (Richards 2006: 85).

emphasize the present and thus elides the social aspects of the construction of memories (2006: 85-86). Instead, Richards favours Fentress and Wickham's term "social memory", because it recognises that memories influenced 'social behaviour in the past' (85-86).[28]

Similarly, Ribeiro de Menezes highlights that the word "*recuperación*" implies the possibility of revealing 'a latent, quasi-objectified past', which lies ready to be found (2010: 1-2). Labanyi also takes issue with the idea of a "recovery of historical memory": as she reminds us, the notion that the past can simply be brought back effectively bypasses 'the workings of memory' (2007: 106). Likewise, Ferrán points out that the exhumations of mass graves do not result in an unmediated '"recovery" of memory', a return of the past as it was (2007: 44). In this sense, Ferrán emphasizes that the name *Asociación para la recuperación de la memoria histórica* is misconstrued as it effectively discounts the fact that at any one time 'multiple memories and histories' are being unearthed and, moreover, 'produced' amongst a raft of 'competing discourses' that have currency in the present (44).

I concur with these critics that the idea of a "*recuperación de la memoria histórica*" is misleading, since it suggests the possibility of a straightforward retrieval of the past in the form of an unmediated return. But I would emphasize that the Spanish word "recuperación", which is translatable not only as "recovery" but also "recuperation", clearly conveys the recuperative aspects of memory, the idea of it as a means of recovering from illness or loss. The word "*recuperación*" thus directly addresses the notion of the Transition as a disease-riddled body, as in the argument of Teresa Vilarós. Furthermore, "*recuperación*" conveys the sense of repairing the Francoist view of the Republican constituency — and thus, of course, their memories — as essentially tainted in some way.

The exhumations of the mass graves have had a profound impact on Spain's collective memory of the civil war and Franco era. As Ferrán observes, the excavations

[28] Fentress and Wickham's concept of 'social memory' draws on Maurice Halbwachs's theory of 'collective memory' (1992 [1941 and 1952]), but puts more emphasis on the individual ingredient in what we might call Halbwachs's collective recipe (1992: ix). For Fentress and Wickham, Halbwachs over-emphasized 'the collective nature of social consciousness' and relatively neglected 'the question of how individual consciousnesses might relate to those of the collectivities those individuals actually made up' (ix). As put forth by Halbwachs, the idea of 'collective consciousness' was thus 'curiously disconnected from the actual thought processes' of any one individual (ix). Fentress and Wickham contend that the notion of 'social memory' seeks to take full account of the collective aspect of a person's 'conscious life' without rendering them 'a sort of automaton, passively obeying the interiorized collective will' (ix).

of the graves and the reburying of the bodies they contain is about mourning the dead and giving them justice (2007: 19).

Another key aspect of the resurgence of memory was the passing of the so-called *Ley de memoria histórica* [Law of Historical Memory] (2007) by the Socialist government of 2004-10 led by José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero (Labanyi 2009: 26).[29] The legislation instituted a break with the presiding principle of "reconciliación nacional" that had in a sense governed the Transition. By publicly acknowledging and attempting to address the injustices perpetrated by Francoism, and also banning public recognition of the Franco era, the law marked a political and public endorsement of a new collective memory of the civil war and dictatorship. Importantly, the Law of Historical Memory also had an international dimension. As Dan Stone observes, while Spain's use of 'legislation to mandate the control of memory' was a fiercely contested step, it is comparable to 'laws banning Nazi symbols in Germany or Holocaust denial in France' (Stone 2014: 274). Indeed, the enactment of the law exemplifies a pan-European trend in memory (274). The law was put in place during a time of rapidly rising "Holocaust consciousness" on Spanish soil when 'Holocaust-related plays, monuments, and novels' were fast appearing from 2000 and 'Holocaust commemoration was becoming a defining aspect of European identity' (274).

Returning to the four novels on which the thesis is based — *La sombra del viento* [*The Shadow of the Wind*] (2001) by Carlos Ruiz Zafón, *Soldados de Salamina* [*Soldiers of Salamis*] (2001) by Javier Cercas, *El lápiz del carpintero* [*The Carpenter's Pencil*] (1998) by Manuel Rivas and *El hijo del acordeonista* [*The Accordionist's Son*] (2003) by Bernardo Atxaga — I shall now set out an overview of developments in the Spanish novel, from 1939 to the present day, to provide a literary and historical context for these writers and works. Thus, I aim to expand upon the nature of these texts, beyond the need for memory.

In the 1940s the landscape of post-war Spain was punctuated by the publication of a few novels that powerfully expressed real-life experience (Perriam, Thompson, Frenk and Knights 2000: 12). These were 'landmarks of *ruptura* [rupture, breaking-out]' (12). In particular, there are three canonical texts from this time: *La familia de*

[29] Labanyi observes that this is the popular shortened, but inexact name for the law (2009: 26). Its complete title is '"Ley por la que se reconocen y amplían derechos y se establecen medidas en favor de quienes padecieron persecución o violencia durante la guerra civil y la dictadura" [Law Recognizing and Extending Rights and Establishing Measures in Favour of Those who Suffered Persecution or Violence during the Civil War and Dictatorship]' (2009: n. 7, p. 33).

Pascual Duarte [*The Family of Pascual Duarte*] (1942) and *La colmena* [*The Hive*] (published in 1951, but completed in 1945), both by Camilo José Cela and *Nada* [*Nothingness*] (1945) by Carmen Laforet (38). Cela's *La familia de Pascual Duarte* and Laforet's *Nada* 'indirectly challenged the regime's version of reality': the first by means of 'a subtle reworking of the picaresque tradition' using various layers of narrative; and the second through 'its rewriting of Gothic and fairy-tale romance', with divergent accounts of key events and the dual narration of a younger and older female protagonist (139). Both novels, and *La colmena*, were classified as examples of *Tremendismo*: 'a darkly pessimistic mode of realism based on deliberately crude representations of violence and crime', involving the morally and physically repulsive and using blunt, forceful language, although Laforet's *Nada* shows little resemblance to its primary features (139).

In the 1950s several novelists sought to document 'the social and economic effects of the Spanish Civil War' by using 'realist techniques', also known as *neorrealismo/realismo social* (Rich 1999: 2). These writers, who were born between around 1924 and 1939, have been termed "la generación del medio siglo" ["the mid-century generation"] (Santos Sanz Villanueva 1988: 34, cited in Rich 1999: 2). Although these authors did not directly take part in the war, they were affected by their memories of the conflict and its aftermath (2). Examples of the novel of social realism include *Los bravos* [*The Brave*] (1954) by Fernández Santos, *Duelo en el paraíso* [*Duel in Paradise*] (1955) by Juan Goytisolo, *El Jarama* [*The Jarama*] (1956) by Rafael Sánchez Ferlosio and *Central eléctrica* [*The Power Station*] (1958) by Jesús López Pacheco (Rich 1999: 2 [See also Perriam, Thompson, Frenk and Knights 2000: 137 and 140-43]).

The publishing of Luis-Martín Santos's *Tiempo de silencio* [*Time of Silence*] (1962) signalled a divergence from social realism (2). There were four key reasons for this move (2). Firstly, there was a rising awareness amongst social realist authors that their didactic aim had been unsuccessful both 'in raising the consciousness of workers' and helping to topple the Franco regime (2). Secondly, the improvement in the economy and major migrations from the countryside to urban locations meant authors were now looking at a dramatically changing Spanish society, with conditions that did not lend themselves well to 'social realist techniques' (2). Santos Sanz Villanueva has observed: '[P]ara expresar las nuevas circunstancias no es suficiente un mero testimonio' ['(T)o express new circumstances a mere testimony is not sufficient'] (1988: 158, cited in Rich

1999: n. 9, p. 10). Thirdly, the loosening of censorship and the effects of 'the Latin American boom novels' offered peninsular authors all sorts of new possibilities 'for the formal renovation of narrative' (Rich 1999: 2). Fourthly, social realism was seen not only to have been politically ineffective, but also something of an artistic dead end (2-3).

The 1960s saw, then, a rejection of realism in favour of 'formal experimentation' and self-reflexivity, with Luis-Martín Santos's *Tiempo de silencio* exemplifying this type (3). But the publication of Eduardo Mendoza's *La verdad sobre el caso Savolta* [*The Truth about the Savolta Case*] in 1975 marked a further turning point in contemporary Spanish narrative, as it signalled 'a reaction against the experimental novel's self-referentiality and formal complexity' (3). Although authors of the 1970s and 1980s such as Mendoza, Manuel Vázquez Montalbán and Rosa Montero still used structural elements of the experimental novel, their work demonstrated a reinvigorated interest in storytelling (3). Many critics identified this combination as a key aspect of 'the novel of the transition' (4). *La verdad sobre el caso Savolta* also exemplified the *novela negra* (Perriam, Thompson, Frenk and Knights 2000: 172-73). This type of detective and crime novel saw a tremendous surge in popularity in the 1970s and 1980s, helped by the ready availability of Spanish translations of the works of Dashiell Hammet and Raymond Chandler (Rich 1999: 7).

These decades were also characterised by the increasing appearance of what David Herzberger has termed "novels of memory" (1991, cited in Rich 1999: 5). There had been some early forerunners of this ilk, such as *Primera memoria* [*First Memories*] by Ana María Matute (1960) and *Señas de identidad* [*Marks of Identity*] by Juan Goytisolo (1966) (Rich 1999: 5). In the 1970s and 1980s, notable examples of novels which used memory 'to recuperate and recount events' of the civil war and post-war repression include *Si te dicen que caí* [*If They Tell You I Fell*] (1973) by Juan Marsé, *Luz de la memoria* [*Light of Memory*] (1976) by Lourdes Ortiz, *Autobiografía de Federico Sánchez* [*The Autobiography of Federico Sánchez*] (1977) by Jorge Semprún and *El cuarto de atrás* [*The Back Room*] (1978) by Carmen Martín Gaite (Rich 1999: 5 [see also Perriam, Thompson, Frenk and Knights 2000: 63 and 98-99]). This type of novel was both a 'response to the traumatic social effects of Francoism' and 'a cathartic attempt by writers to come to terms with their […] experiences' from the dictatorship (5).

Another significant facet of developments in the Spanish novel at this time was the emergence of the "self-conscious" novel or metafictional work, which Robert Alter has described as "a novel that systematically flaunts its own condition of artifice" (Alter 1975: x, cited in Rich 1999: 6). However, whereas the "novel of memory" was mostly about responding to the civil war and Francoist past from inside Spain, the primary inspiration for 'the metafictional novel of the 1970s and 1980s' came from the "boom" writers of Latin America (6).

Jo Labanyi has observed that haunting is a theme in several novels and films about the memory of the civil war and Francoist repression from this time. These novels include *Luna de lobos* [*Wolf Moon*] (1985) by Julio Llamazares, and *Beatus Ille* (1986) and *El jinete polaco* [*The Polish Rider*] (1991), both by Antonio Muñoz Molina (Labanyi 2007: 97-101). In film, haunting occurs in works made towards the end of the dictatorship — *El espíritu del colmena* [*The Spirit of the Beehive*] by Victor Erice (1973) and *Cría cuervos* [*Raise Ravens*] by Carlos Saura (1976) — where, practically speaking, it resulted from the continued use of censorship (97-101).

As the above overview shows, Spanish writers have always written about the Spanish Civil War and Franco dictatorship, 'directly or indirectly' and with more or less 'freedom of expression' since the middle of the twentieth century (Ribeiro de Menezes 2010: 1). But in the 1990s Spanish novels took to 'rummaging about in the disremembered spaces and times of things past': specifically, the civil war and the dictatorship era that followed (Richardson 2010: 6).

The "memory boom" has seen the publication of literally hundreds of novels on the civil war and Francoist past (Davis 2017: 801). Texts that consider history and, perhaps more significantly, the process of historiography include Antonio Soler's *El nombre que ahora digo* [*The name I now say*] (1999), Julio Manuel de la Rosa's *Las guerras de Etruria* [*The wars of Etruria*] (2001) and Ignacio Martínez de Pisón's *Enterrar a los muertos* [*To bury the dead*] (2005) (López-Quiñones 2006, cited in Amago 2008: 208).

Other notable novels are *Días y noches* [*Days and nights*] (2000) and *La noche de los cuatro caminos* [*The night of the four ways*] (2001) both by Andrés Trapiello (Gracia and Ródenas de Moya 2011: 869); *Cielos de barro* [*Skies of clay*] (2000) and *La voz dormida* [*The sleeping voice*] (2002) both by Dulce Chacón, the latter being overtly based on 'numerosos testimonios orales' ['numerous oral testimonies'] by Republican women (Gracia and Ródenas de Moya 2011: 878); and *Veinte años y un día*

[*Twenty years and a day*] (2003) by Jorge Semprún, which grapples with issues of recovering and transmitting the traumatic memories of the civil war (Ferrán 2007: 273 [see also Ryan 2014: n. 2, p. 2]).

Some well-known examples of novels that focus on the trans-generational transmission of memories are *El corazón helado* [*The frozen heart*] by Almudena Grandes (2007), *El séptimo velo* [*The seventh veil*] by Juan Manuel de Prada (2007) and *Dientes de leche* [*Milk teeth*] by Ignacio Martínez de Pisón (2008) (Mombell 2014: 6). Similar to the novels in the thesis, these books exemplify how a generation of Spanish authors who did not experience the war directly has re-examined the civil war past through literature (6). *El corazón helado* and *El séptimo velo* are about Spanish families who, after the death of a parent, learn of a family secret that had been hidden for nearly fifty years: the participation of their father in the Second World War (n. 1, p. 14). *Dientes de leche* revolves around 'the generational legacy of the Spanish Civil War in a Spanish-Italian family' (n. 1, p. 14). Another novel that takes an inter-generational perspective is *La malamemoria* [*The bad memory*] (1999) by Isaac Rosa; however, Rosa, who was born in 1974, belongs to a younger generation (Ribeiro de Menezes 2010: 2 and n. 12, p. 10).

Further instances of the "memory boom" in the literary sphere are Rosa's *El vano ayer* [*Vain yesterday*] (2004) (Walsh 2009: 230 and 233-41); *Los girasoles ciegos* [*The blind sunflowers*] by Alberto Méndez (2004), which is made up of four short stories (Davis 2017: 801); Benjamín Prado's *Mala gente que camina* [*Bad people walking*] (2006) about the present-day investigation of an episode of political violence in the war and post-war period (Amago 2011: 330 [see also Gracia and Ródenas de Moya 2011: 878]); and *La noche de los tiempos* [*In the night of the times*] by Antonio Muñoz Molina (2009), which seeks to fuse 'la exploración literaria con el alegato o la denuncia moral' ['the literary exploration with defence and moral denunciation'] (Gracia and Ródenas de Moya 2011: 876). More recently published novels include *El día de mañana* [*The day of tomorrow*] by Ignacio Martínez de Pisón (2011), *Si a los tres años no he vuelto* [*If I don't return in three years*] by Ana R. Cañil (2010) and *Ayer no más* [*Yesterday no more*] by Andrés Trapiello (2012) (Ryan 2014: 14-15).

Films of note include the same-name film version of Cercas's *Soldados de Salamina*, directed by David Trueba (2003), the aforementioned *El espinazo del diablo* [*The Devil's Backbone*] by Guillermo del Toro (2001), José Luis Cuerda's *La lengua de las mariposas* [*Butterfly's Tongue*] (1999), which is based on a short story by Manuel

Rivas, originally published in the collection *Qué me queres, amor* (1996) (Gracia and Ródenas de Moya 2011: 886), Armendáriz's *Silencio roto* [*Broken Silence*] (2000) and Imanol Uribe's *El viaje de Carol* [*Carol's journey*] (2002) (Labanyi 2007: 101-03, n. 24, p. 103 and 105). Another example is Agustí Villaronga's 2010 adaptation of Emili Teixidor's novel *Pa Negre* [*Black Bread*] (2003) (Hogan 2016: 1-2 [see also Gracia and Ródenas de Moya 2011: 882]). Sarah Wright has contended that *Pa Negre* exemplifies the production of a new genre of "*cine con niño*" ["child-starred film"] in the context of the "memory boom" (2013: 93). However, Erin Hogan highlights how Villaronga's representation of the main character as homosexual differentiates the film 'from its "*nuevo cine con niño*" ["new child-starred film"] peers' and thus challenges the familiar 'narratives of historical memory and the *nuevo cine con niño*' ['new child-starred film'] (2010: 2 and 4).

Although the "memory boom" is no longer the phenomenon it was it remains a palpable presence in Spanish culture. In the literary sphere, which is the one the thesis centres on, to a certain extent the "boom" has perhaps become customary through the hybrid form of autobiography-fiction novels that is prevalent in contemporary Spain. Recent examples of this type are *Ordesa* by Manuel Vilas and *El dolor de los demás* by Miguel Ángel Hernández both published in 2018. Neither of these books is directly concerned with the memory of the civil war and Francoist past. However, Manuel Vilas was born in 1962 and is thus the same generation as the authors of the four novels covered by the thesis. Juan Antonio Masoliver Ródenas has suggested *Ordesa* is an 'autobiografía narrada con una tensión propia de la ficción […] No es tanto su biografía como la de una familia que lo es al mismo tiempo de una época' ['autobiography narrated with the tension that normally belongs to fiction (…) It is not so much his biography as that of a family which is at the same time of an epoch'].[30]

Miguel Ángel Hernández was born a generation later in 1977.[31] *El dolor de los demás* [*The pain of others*] is about a real-life tragic event in the village where he grew up, when, on Christmas Eve in 1995, a good friend since childhood killed his own sister and then committed suicide by jumping off a precipice.[32] Twenty years later, the writer went back to the village and set out to reconstruct the tragic event that denoted the end

[30] "Cultura/s," *La Vanguardia*, March 3, 2018, p. 7.
[31] <https://elcultural.com/revista/letras/El-dolor-de-los-demas/40989> [accessed 22 August 2018]
[32] <https://elpais.com/cultura/2018/06/14/babelia/1528974198_230142.html> [accessed 22 August 2018]

of his adolescence. The novel raises questions about 'los modos de representación, el poder creador (o "performativo") del lenguaje y la imaginación, o la presencia activa del pasado en el presente' ['modes of representation, the creative (or "performative") power of language and the imagination, or the active presence of the past in the present'], and the investigation, which is recounted in the novel, leads Hernández to feel "una responsabilidad con la realidad" ["a responsibility towards reality"].[33] *El dolor de los demás* might be considered 'autoficción' ['autofiction'] — that is, fictionalised autobiography — but it also turns itself into 'una mirada hacia el otro, una reconfiguración del pasado' ['a look towards the other, a reconfiguration of the past'] from the perspective of the present.[34]

Moving now to the rationale for the choice of texts, the thesis adopts Labanyi's suggestion that the "memory boom" began in 1998, the year of General Pinochet's arrest in London at the request of the Spanish judges Baltasar Garzón Real and Manuel García Castellón (Labanyi 2009: 27). As we have seen, a cultural discourse about the civil war and Francoist past did already exist, though this was intermittent (Labanyi 2009: 26). Some important novels had already been published on the theme. But the arrest of the Chilean dictator was a catalyst that ignited discussion of the memory of the civil war and Francoist past within Spain's public sphere. The thesis also regards 1998 as an origin of sorts because it is the earliest year of publication of the novels on which the thesis centres: *El lápiz del carpintero* by Manuel Rivas.

As we have seen, the list of novels that has been published about the memory of the civil war in the last two decades is extensive. However, the four texts on which the thesis is focused have been chosen for particular reasons. Firstly, *La sombra del viento* [*The Shadow of the Wind*] (2001) by Carlos Ruiz Zafón, *Soldados de Salamina* [*Soldiers of Salamis*] (2001) by Javier Cercas, *El lápiz del carpintero* [*The Carpenter's Pencil*] (1998) by Manuel Rivas and *El hijo del acordeonista* [*The Accordionist's Son*] (2003) by Bernardo Atxaga all explore the memory of the civil war and Francoist past from an inter-generational perspective. In representing the trans-generational transmission of memories, these novels demonstrate the idea of contemporary generations wanting to find out about the memories of the civil war and Francoist past.

[33] <https://elcultural.com/revista/letras/El-dolor-de-los-demas/40989> [accessed 22 August 2018]
[34] <https://elcultural.com/revista/letras/El-dolor-de-los-demas/40989> [accessed 22 August 2018]

Another part of the rationale for focusing on these four texts is that they all put the memory of the civil war in a trans-national context. *La sombra del viento*, *Soldados de Salamina*, *El lápiz del carpintero* and *El hijo del acordeonista* thus link to international politics of memory. In particular, each novel overtly links the memory of the Spanish Civil War with that of the Second World War. Similarly, the novels were selected because they have all been translated into English and many other languages. However, the novels also collectively represent the autonomous regions of Spain: as indicated earlier, *La sombra del viento* and *Soldados de Salamina* are mainly set in Catalonia, *El lápiz del carpintero* in Galicia and *El hijo del acordeonista* in the Basque Country. These novels therefore put regional memories of the civil war and Francoist past into the global sphere.

An additional aspect of the rationale for working on these four texts was that they are not exclusively about Republican memories and legacies, but also those that are linked to the Francoist side, albeit less obviously in Ruiz Zafón's *La sombra del viento*. A further reason for the choice of these novels was that as well as looking into the memory of the civil war and Francoist past they are oriented towards the future.

Another feature of *La sombra del viento*, *Soldados de Salamina, El lápiz del carpintero* and *El hijo del acordeonista* is that they are by male authors. Likewise, the protagonists are all men. Although these were not explicit reasons for choosing these texts, the all-male corpus would appear to reflect that, as can be seen from the examples given above, the "memory boom" novels are predominantly by male writers. There are of course female authors amongst the second generation who did not experience the civil war directly, for example, Dulce Chacón, Almudena Grandes, Alicia Giménez Bartlett and Ángeles López (Ryan 2014: 19). However, of these writers' works only *El corazón helado* [*The frozen heart*] by Almudena Grandes (2007) links the memory of the Spanish Civil War with that of the Second World War. But the novel is largely set in Madrid rather than one of the autonomous regions and also not self-referential (Ribeiro de Menezes 2014: 71 and 74).

The all-male corpus raises issues of memory and gender. Marianne Hirsch and Valerie Smith have highlighted that the elision of women from memory discourses has changed little over time: 'What a culture remembers and what it chooses to forget', they suggest, 'are intricately bound up with issues of power and hegemony, and thus with gender' (2002: 6, cited in Whitehead 2009: 13). In both *La sombra del viento* and *Soldados de Salamina* the legacy of memory is symbolically passed from father to

son.[35] However, in Rivas's *El lápiz del carpintero* and Atxaga's *El hijo del acordeonista* the next generation is decidedly female. In *El lápiz del carpintero* the male narrator, Herbal, has a young female interlocutor, Maria da Visitação, who becomes the symbolic keeper of memory. In *El hijo del acordeonista* the protagonist, David Imaz, writes his memoir of growing up in post-war Francoist Spain for his daughters, Liz and Sara. Thus, to some extent, both of these novels address issues of gender and memory.

We will shortly move to the structure of the thesis and an outline of the four chapters. First, however, I wish to set out how the thesis differs from Ofelia Ferrán's exploration of fiction and other writing about the repressed memories of the civil war: *Working Through Memory: Writing and Remembrance in Contemporary Spanish Narrative* (2007). Whereas Ferrán covers texts published between the 1960s and the 1990s — so, amid the culture of forgetting which prevailed in late Francoism and then in different ways continued into the Transition (2007: 35-36) — my interest lies in the resurgence of memories in the late 1990s and early 21st century. Ferrán analyses autobiographies and fiction; I focus solely on novels (62). The thesis might be viewed as following on from Ferrán's work inasmuch as she suggests her corpus could have been expanded to include some of the writing about the memory of the war that appeared from the late 1990s (273). But her focus is different to mine. Ferrán argues that the self-reflexive character of the books in her study highlights an indelible link between the processes of producing and transmitting memories and questions of 'writing and narrative representation', while presenting what Michel Foucault would call 'a culture of countermemory' by recovering 'historical perspectives marginalized by official versions of the past' (15). In addition, Ferrán draws on trauma theory to show how 'theoretical insights' made in 'Holocaust studies' illuminate Spain's difficulties in recognising and managing 'its own traumatic history' (16).

[35] In David Trueba's film adaptation of *Soldados de Salamina* the protagonist is recast as female (Faulkner 2011: 84). Trueba has said that the gender change arose out of a long conversation with Javier Cercas and observes it liberates the film from the notion that 'sólo los hombres se interesan por el pasado' ['only men are interested in the past'] (Published 3 May 2002, cited in Antón 2003, cited in Faulkner 2011: 89). Faulkner argues that the female protagonist's 'embodiment of time' is pivotal to the/her exploration of the civil war past and also intertwined with her childlessness approaching middle age (2011: 87). The film therefore both indicates the future but also 'the possible lack of a future', that is, a future under threat (90 and 92).

Elements of my thesis sometimes echo aspects of Ferrán's argument: in particular, the trans-generational transmission of memories. In this context I similarly refer to trauma theories which stem from Holocaust studies. As indicated earlier, one of the reasons that memory of the Holocaust links to that of the Spanish Civil War is that in the last decade or so those who directly experienced the civil war and post-war era have been dying out. But the theories I draw on differ from those employed by Ferrán or are given a different inflection. For example, whereas Ferrán centres on Marianne Hirsch's notion of postmemory, I focus on Abraham and Torok's concept of trans-generational haunting. Moreover, my exploration of the return of the repressed silenced memories of the civil war is not solely about Republican histories as is the case with Ferrán's writing, but also those of the Francoist side.

The structure of the thesis

The thesis is structured as four chapters, each of which explores a contemporary Spanish novel about the memory of the civil war using a particular theoretical perspective. At the start of each chapter I explain the critical theory underpinning the argument. I go on to outline the critical reception of the novel and then show how the theoretical approach supports and consolidates my argument.

The thesis draws on four main theoretical ideas: Abraham and Torok's concept of trans-generational haunting, the idea of melancholia as culturally prohibited, inexpressible mourning developed by Judith Butler and Abraham and Torok after Freud, Jacques Derrida's conceptualisation of history as hauntology and Giorgio Agamben's notion of bare life. The thesis is also concerned with the concept of collective memory and the interaction between individual and collective memories.

I will now set out the four chapters of the thesis, to give an overview of the various questions and debates they investigate.

Chapter One: 'Trans-generational haunting in *La sombra del viento* [*The Shadow of the Wind*] (2001) by Carlos Ruiz Zafón' explores Abraham and Torok's psychoanalytic and literary theory of the belated return of traumatic memory in the following generations. The chapter argues that the notion of trans-generational haunting illuminates the novel's theme of inter-generational silence about the memory of the civil war and Francoist past, both in the private domain and the public sphere. I elaborate trans-generational haunting in the context of trauma theory, but suggest *La sombra del viento* casts light on the political character of Spain's silence about the civil war and

post-war past. Contending that the novel reflects the inter-generational silence that pervaded the Franco era and the effects of the Transition's "pacto del olvido" on successive generations, the chapter examines how the need to put the identity of the silenced past into narrative reflects the resurgence of the memory of the civil war and Francoist past after around 1998 and the impetus for its recovery amongst contemporary generations. This chapter also introduces one of the key themes of the thesis: reading and writing about the memories of the civil war.

Chapter Two: 'Melancholia and the telling of history in *Soldados de Salamina* [*Soldiers of Salamis*] (2001) by Javier Cercas' investigates the idea of melancholia as culturally prohibited, inexpressible mourning. Drawing on Freud's theories of loss and identification, and their development by Judith Butler and Abraham and Torok, this chapter explores how *Soldados de Salamina* reflects Teresa Vilarós's diagnosis of the Transition's culture of disremembrance as a diseased body with unconscious withdrawal symptoms. Positing that there is a kitsch element in the representation of the Republicans in the story of one of the founders of Spanish fascism, Rafael Sánchez Mazas, I analyse how Cercas's novel represents the public disremembrance of the Republican past and also signals a continuing discourse of Francoism in democratic Spain. At the same time, the chapter assesses how the novel's articulation of Republican histories links to the trans-generational transmission of memories and demonstrates a progression from melancholia to mourning that symbolises Spain's resurgence of memory from around 1998. This chapter also draws some comparison with Paul Gilroy's concept of postcolonial melancholia, which links to Alexander and Margarete Mitscherlichs' argument that the German people warded off a collective process of mourning after Germany's defeat in the Second World War.

Chapter Three: 'History as hauntology in *El lápiz del carpintero* [*The Carpenter's Pencil*] (1998) by Manuel Rivas' focuses on the philosophical concept of hauntology, the theory of the absent yet present spectre from Jacques Derrida's *Specters of Marx* (1994). I explore how the spectre of a painter executed by a prison guard symbolises the disappearance and return of the Republican past in Spain's collective memory, and thus represents the idea of a haunting past which remains present in spite of its absence. Postulating that the unseen yet speaking spectre relates to the suppression of Republican memories under Francoism, but also the time of the Spanish Transition, I analyse how the ghost illustrates 'other' historical and cultural narratives and knowledge and thus represents the resurgence of memories of the civil war in Spain

from around 1998. I assess how the guard's dialogue with the ghost represents mourning for the civil war and Francoist past, while the recognition of the disappearance of Republican memories constitutes an ethical call to articulate their presence. This chapter also investigates the novel's focus on perpetrator memory and analyses how the guard embodies the trace of the Francoist past in contemporary Spain, particularly Galicia.

In the final chapter, 'Memory as bare life in *El hijo del acordeonista* [*The Accordionist's Son*] (2003) by Bernardo Atxaga', the thesis draws on Giorgio Agamben's *Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life* (1998) to investigate how the novel marks the erosion of humanity in the civil war and Franco era. Positing that *El hijo del acordeonista* reconstructs the memory of the civil war and Francoist past by means of language and literature, the chapter analyses how the novel counters the predominant monument of the Franco regime, the *Valle de los Caídos* ['Valley of the Fallen'], and the 1964 commemoration entitled "Veinticinco años de Paz" ["Twenty-five years of Peace"]. I explore how the representation of the emergence of private memories of the war and post-war era in the public sphere from around 1998 simulates the movement of bare life to political life in tandem with the trans-generational transmission of memories. Emphasizing the role of the reader in the reconstruction of memory, the chapter examines how the novel underscores the part that literature can play in mourning the memories of the civil war and Francoist past. In representing the recent engagement with history amongst Spain's contemporary generations, *El hijo del acordeonista* also activates it as such.

In the conclusion I summarise the argument the thesis has made and review its findings and insights. I also map out further directions the work might go into. For example, I propose greater exploration of the memory of the civil war and Francoist past in an international/trans-national context as a fruitful line of enquiry.

Before turning to the first chapter of the thesis I wish to elaborate my policy on translation. The thesis itself is written in English. Where there are citations from critical theory or history in Spanish or another foreign language a translation into English is therefore given, either an existing one if provided or my own. All four novels have been translated into English and citations are given in Spanish and English. *La sombra del viento* and *Soldados de Salamina* were both written in Spanish, so for these books the thesis refers to the original texts and their translations into English. For *El lápiz del carpintero*, which was written in the Galician language, citations are from the

translations into Spanish and English, both of which are directly from the Galician original. *El hijo del acordeonista* was written in the Basque language and for this novel I cite from the translation into Spanish and the one into English from that. Although the thesis is based on the novels in Spanish and English, it occasionally refers to the Galician original of Rivas's text or the Basque of Atxaga's, where some aspect of the translation is of note for the argument. For the translations of the novels into English, the thesis usually adheres to the stated text, but if this has been modified for some reason I indicate this fact.

Chapter One
Trans-generational haunting in *La sombra del viento* [*The Shadow of the Wind*] (2001) by Carlos Ruiz Zafón

Introduction

In this first chapter I aim to explain how Abraham and Torok's psychoanalytic and literary theory of the return of traumatic memory in the next generation is relevant to the Spanish Civil War and Francoist past. Elaborating trans-generational haunting in the context of trauma theory, I argue that the concept throws light on the political character of the inter-generational silence about the recent Spanish past. I contend that in *La sombra del viento* [*The Shadow of the Wind*] (2001) by Carlos Ruiz Zafón the belated return of the traumatic memory of the novelist Julián Carax in the life of the young Daniel Sempere represents the concept of trans-generational haunting as discussed in the theory of Abraham and Torok. Although Daniel is not genetically related to Julián, his need to uncover the truth about Julián's identity signals him as a haunted subject. While the silence around the traumatic past relates to Julián's private history, it also has a political aspect. I argue that the disappearance and supposed death of Julián Carax, along with that of his corpus of writing, is a metonym for the distortion and suppression of the memory of the civil war in the following generation. The entombment of Julián's traumatic history mirrors the public erasure of Republican memories of the war and links to their prohibition in speech. The gradual retrieval of the absent memory of Julián to language relates to the formation of Daniel's own identity, but it also has a collective character. *La sombra del viento* illuminates both the inter-generational silence during Francoism and the suspension of memory of the civil war and post-war era in the Transition as a result of the "pacto del olvido". The exposition of Julián's secreted memory reflects the trans-generational transmission of memories and the widespread fracturing of the pact in Spanish public consciousness since around 1998. *La sombra del viento* represents the construction of a collective cultural memory of the post-war period and its link to pan-European memory debates.

Before turning to Ruiz Zafón's novel, I wish to set out some key elements of trauma theory, including Freud's theories of the "compulsion to repeat" and "*Nachträglichkeit*" ["deferred action" or "afterwardsness"]. In particular, I will explore

Abraham and Torok's psychoanalytic and literary theory of trans-generational haunting and show how it not only applies to the familial transmission of silenced traumatic memories within the private sphere but also extends to the public realm.

Trauma theories

A "trauma" originally referred to a corporeal injury which physically cuts into the body. As Laplanche and Pontalis explain, the term derives from the Greek word for "wound", which in turn stems from the Greek for "to pierce" (1988: 465). Traditionally, the word "trauma" was used in medicine and surgery (465), but during the 20th century it came more commonly to mean a psychical wound, which might or might not be linked to a physical one. The notion of a trauma which hurt the psyche in a profound and resonant way was substantially developed within psychoanalysis, notably by Freud. In adopting the term, psychoanalysis carried over the three ideas that pertain to a physical trauma: 'the idea of a violent shock, the idea of a wound and the idea of consequences affecting the whole organisation' (Laplanche and Pontalis 1988: 466).

Freud's understanding of trauma developed in three consecutive stages (Vidali 1996: 35). Initially, the notion linked to his '[e]arly work on hysteria (1885-1905) [which] gives seduction the status of an external event […] [that] can be at the origin of traumatic hysteria' (35). In the second phase, from 1905 to 1917, trauma became 'the function of an unconscious fantasy, the primal scene, castration anxiety, or separation anxiety' (35). Lastly, from 1917 to 1926 Freud defined trauma 'in relation to the death drive', and further expounded 'the concepts of repetition-compulsion, mourning, melancholia, depression and guilt' (35). This latter development of his work linked to the pathology and the treatment of shell shock victims of the First World War (35). As Anne Whitehead points out, Freud attends to 'the trauma of war' in several linked essays: 'Thoughts for the Times on War and Death' (1915), 'On Transience' (1916), 'Mourning and Melancholia' (1917), 'The Uncanny' (1919) and 'Beyond the Pleasure Principle' (1920) (2004: 133).

Freud describes a trauma as an incursion into the protective outer layer of the conscious mind — an intrusion which creates 'a breach in an otherwise efficacious barrier against stimuli' (1920: 29 [see also Friedländer 1992: 51]). The defensive shield, which is like 'a thoroughly "baked through"' mental outer crust (26), functions as a filter that shelters the inner layers. In piercing the filter and penetrating consciousness, a traumatic event passes into the unconscious and injures the psyche by profoundly

disrupting the sense of self. The harmful effect is not limited to the single puncturing action but reverberates throughout the entirety of the mental organisation and its state of being (29). Although the stimuli have to be strong in themselves — Freud says the word "traumatic" describes 'any excitations from outside which are powerful enough to break though the protective shield' (29) — the intrusion to consciousness and hence the onset of the trauma results primarily from the psyche's comprehension of the external event. Rather than the event itself, it is specifically its registration or reception as psychically overwhelming and thus deeply affecting that renders it traumatic. The effect of the traumatic incident therefore substantively hinges on the '"predisposition" (*Empfänglichkeit* [susceptibility])' of the subject (Laplanche and Pontalis 1988: 466). While certain events, such as '"the apparently irreparable loss of a loved person"' may be traumatic in themselves, except for such extreme instances, an event gains its traumatism from 'specific circumstances', including:

> The particular psychological state of the subject at the time of the occurrence […]; the concrete situation — social circumstances […], etc. — which prohibits or hinders an adequate reaction […]; [and] lastly — and most importantly in Freud's view — psychical conflict preventing the subject from integrating the experience into his conscious personality. (466-67)

The penetration of 'the protective shield', which causes a large-scale disturbance to psychic energy, means that the mind becomes flooded 'with large amounts of stimulus' (Freud 1920: 29). Consequently, there ensues a problem of binding the excessive stimuli into the psyche so that they can be adequately disposed of (30). The requirement to bind or 'master' the vast influx of stimulus is so urgent that it takes precedence over the pleasure principle and shunts it temporarily to one side (29-30).[36] The consequences of the intrusion to the outer defensive layer of the mind are especially linked to the subject's readiness for anxiety: his or her capacity for motivating a level of anxiety to counter the penetration of the defensive shield (31). Where a subject has insufficient anxiety before encountering the external event, she or he is less able to bind

[36] The title of Freud's essay 'Beyond the Pleasure Principle' derives from this point. See also Laplanche and Pontalis 1988: 468.

the inflowing excitations and thereby stem the surge through the breach (31). In other words, he or she is more susceptible to suffering a traumatic experience.[37]

Ofelia Ferrán stresses that a trauma is normally understood as potentially obliterating: 'such an experience usually involves an individual's confrontation with, and survival of, his/her own annihilation, the only experience that the psyche cannot possibly register' (2001: 270). The brush with total destruction causes its practical death in the conscious part of the mind. Rather than a presence, a memory, that is, that might be consciously recalled, the event becomes an absence. Although to all intents and purposes the trauma thus appears to be forgotten — that is, of neither substance nor significance — it remains as permanent unconscious memory-traces. These traces are registered even more potent by dint of only ever having been unconscious. 'Such memory-traces […] have nothing to do with the fact of becoming conscious', Freud remarks: 'indeed they are often most powerful and most enduring when the process which left them behind was one which never entered consciousness' (1920: 25). The experience of the event as unstoppable is thus effectively echoed in the strength and resilience of the memory-traces deposited directly in the unconscious. Moreover, since unconscious mental processes are 'in themselves "timeless"' (28), whilst they remain unconscious the memory-traces persist unaffected by temporal change.

Although the traumatic memory seems no longer to exist, it manifests itself within an individual's behaviour through what Freud terms the "compulsion to repeat". Since the trauma is unassimilated an effective revisiting of the experience that created it takes place. Moreover, the traumatic memory does not recur just the once, but repeatedly: 'with a force all its own, [it] keeps reappearing in an indirect form through an uncanny repetition of events in the individual's life that recreates the traumatic experience' (Ferrán 2001: 270).

For Freud, the "compulsion to repeat" attests to the power of the repressed (1920: 20). Despite the resistance it meets in the ego, the memory tries to emerge (20). The repetition-compulsion thus iteratively effects what Freud terms "the return of the repressed" (1915: 154). Importantly, however,

[37] In *Inhibitions, Symptoms and Anxiety* (1926) Freud later distinguished between anxiety that is triggered by a traumatic occurrence and 'anxiety as a warning signal of the approach of such an event' (1920: n. 1, p. 13). Whereas the first sort arises automatically from the breach of the defences, the second is a kind of internal alarm raised by the ego in a bid to combat the breach in advance. See also Laplanche and Pontalis 1988: 469.

> The compulsion to repeat also recalls from the past experiences which include no possibility of pleasure, and which can never, even long ago, have brought satisfaction even to instinctual impulses which have since been repressed. (1920: 20)

As Freud conceptualises it, the "compulsion to repeat" thus seems to incarnate a drive towards death: 'when they act in opposition to the pleasure principle, [the manifestations of a repetition-compulsion] […] give the appearance of some daemonic force at work' (35). Crucially, however, the compulsive repetition of the repressed traumatic memory is an attempt to strengthen the subject's capacity to master it retrospectively. Repetition turns the subject from a seemingly passive recipient of the experience into an active mistress or master — a manager, as it were — of its residual effects (35). Since a trauma is a wound to the psyche, in compulsively repeating the memory of the experience, the subject is, at root, trying to integrate and expunge its harmful psychic residues. The repetition-compulsion therefore involves producing 'the anxiety that was previously missing', which facilitated the breach of the defences (Whitehead 2004: 119). By continually revisiting the traumatic occurrence, the person 'can master the amounts of stimulus which have broken through by binding them together' in order to construct a protective coating 'against trauma after the event' (119). Although the return of the traumatic memory entails indirectly re-experiencing the past pain associated with it, albeit in a different context, it also provides the opportunity to salve its haunting effects on the present psyche. Freud shows that the paths of compulsive-repetition and memory are innately interlinked, since each recurrence of the trauma creates the contemporary reflections 'of a forgotten past' (1920: 19).

As Joan Ramon Resina observes, 'repetition and compulsiveness' are the signs of a trauma seeking release precisely 'through admission' (2000: 108). However, until the traumatic memory becomes truly conscious, until, that is, it is recognised and named, it remains subject to endless repetition without integration. Consequently, the wound experienced in the past is susceptible to conflation with the present, as if it were occurring for the first time instead of coming back. In other words, until the traumatic memory is recognised as such 'the repressed material' will be repeated 'as a contemporary experience' rather than being remembered 'as something belonging to the past' (Freud 1920: 18).

The "compulsion to repeat" and the "return of the repressed" demonstrate the innate belatedness of trauma, its delayed character and effect. In his theory of "*Nachträglichkeit*" ["deferred action" or "afterwardsness"] Freud conceptualised trauma as being "carried after" or "carried on" beyond its actual occurrence, because it was not psychically registered when it took place (King 1996: 51). The wound is not even fleetingly experienced — is not felt — when it occurs, so its import is not properly recognised. Freud thus characterises the experience of trauma as actually taking place or being '"in" the repetition of an early event in a later event' (LaCapra 1999: 725). As Anne Whitehead stresses, the traumatic incident 'only becomes an *event* later, at some point of intense emotional crisis' (2004: 6, italics in original).

As a result of the "*Nachträglichkeit*" that is inherent in the experience the trauma is not only indirectly repeated, but its meaning also becomes revised. Nicola King points out that the concept of "*Nachträglichkeit*" accordingly has a 'three-fold structure' (1996: 51). In the first place it comprises the insufficiently experienced trauma; in the second, the subsequent triggering and reactivating of the experience 'by a second event which doesn't seem traumatic but which produces neurotic or hysterical symptoms'; and in the third the recovery of the memory of the event through its narration, which for Freud takes place within a context of psychoanalysis (51). However, rather than the event itself, the narration pertains to the memory of the event (51). The anamnesis is constructed precisely through the recollection and recounting of the experience as it is remembered. In other words, while emanating from that memory the narration also creates it. The narration is, then, both an act and activation of memory which innately links to the formation of identity. The three-fold structure of "*Nachträglichkeit*" underscores how identity is constructed retroactively — built upon the memory of the traumatic event rather than the truth or 'real' of the event itself.

Freud's theory of *Nachträglichkeit* innately connects trauma to a disruption of time. For Cathy Caruth, the temporal dislocation is similarly central to the traumatic experience: it defines it and means that it equals a rupture of history. Caruth's thinking on trauma follows two trajectories. Firstly, she concentrates on 'the collapse of understanding' which is at the centre of trauma (Whitehead 2004: 5). In registering itself 'as a non-experience' — something that apparently did not happen — Caruth

argues that trauma unsettles 'conventional epistemologies' (5).[38] Secondly, she contends that trauma is 'experienced for the first time only in its belated repetition' (5). Virtually unnoticed before, it effectively demands recognition by returning at a later date (5). But, according to Caruth, rather than lying 'in the possession of the individual, to be recounted at will', trauma 'acts as a haunting and possessive influence' (5). The wound of the trauma permeates the entire person, as it does for Freud, but it effectively possesses the subject from the outside by way of its repeated return (12). As Whitehead summarises, for Caruth, therefore, 'trauma is not a symptom of the unconscious, but of history' (12).

Trans-generational haunting

A disrupted temporality is also implicit in Nicolas Abraham and Maria Torok's concept of trans-generational haunting. As in Freud's view, the traumatic event is not psychically registered when it actually happens and thus returns later in time. But instead of the person to whom the traumatic experience occurred, its effects emerge in the following generation (Abraham 1975: 172-73). The traumatic wound is passed on from one generation to another precisely because it is not spoken about (Abraham 1975a: 189). Its memory persists as a secret, which derives from shame and prohibition about the traumatic event and is either unconsciously or consciously maintained. In this next section I will explore Abraham and Torok's theoretical model and its implications for speaking about trauma and thus the articulation of history.

Abraham and Torok suggest that trauma is unconsciously transmitted to the following generation(s) by means of the metapsychological concept of the "phantom" (Abraham 1975: 171).[39] The "phantom" stems from a traumatic occurrence which cannot be spoken or spoken about. Secreted away from the ego, which has designated it entirely unmentionable, the "phantom" seeks to continue the clandestine existence of the trauma by preventing it coming to light (174-75). As Colin Davis explicates, the "phantom" is produced by a traumatic event that has been designated 'a subject of

[38] Caruth's emphasis on 'the impossibility of knowing the traumatic event' was formed in the light of reflections on the Holocaust, specifically the theory of "the collapse of witnessing" developed by Dori Laub, whose work stems from 'his own status as a witness' and his psychoanalytic experience with Holocaust survivors (Arruti 2007: 2). See Felman and Laub 1992.

[39] Abraham and Torok elaborate their theories in 'Notes du séminaire sur l'unité duelle et le fantôme' and 'Notules sur le fantôme'. The latter was translated into English as 'Notes on the Phantom: A Complement to Freud's Metapsychology' [1975] (1992: n. 24, p. 21).

shame and prohibition' (2005: 378). Historically invested in covering up the event which it in a sense embodies, the *raison d'être* of the "phantom" is the continual propulsion of the silenced past (Abraham 1975: 174-75). However, while the "phantom" works to keep the unspeakable trauma concealed, it shows its presence in the psychic symptoms of successive generations. Sustained in the past, the sanctuary of the secret becomes disturbed in the present and reveals itself as such.

The theory of trans-generational haunting is based on the notion of 'a direct transmission' of the silenced trauma 'from the mother's unconscious to that of her baby' (Vidali 1996: 35). As Esther Rashkin explains, the passing on of the traumatic past is predicated on the foundation of the 'dual unity' between the child and the mother (1992: 21). Abraham and Torok 'begin with the premise — based on the life-situation — that the mother-child union already exists' (21). Through this ongoing union — 'a separation that is never quite completed' — the mother gives the child the basis gradually to become 'an individual' (21). Thus, unlike both Freud and Lacan, who understand 'the child's conflict' to be 'between the desire for union (incest) and the impossibility of that union (enforced by the father's threat of castration)', Abraham and Torok situate the conflict between 'the desire to remain faithful to the mother in an (obsolete) state of indifferentiation and the desire for detachment from […] [her] in a forward-looking quest for individuality' (21).

Rashkin suggests the "phantom" constitutes 'a pathological corollary to the dual unity' (21), which renders it sickly or "diseased" (27). The unspoken transmission of the traumatic past functions as an unrecognised impediment to the child's process of differentiation from their parent. The silenced trauma, which pertains directly to the mother's historical experience, and more broadly the historical actuality of her generation, becomes embedded within the child's unconscious, where it works to fuse and confuse the child's identity with that of the mother. Unconsciously, the child is thus driven to repeat the effects of the mother's past experience as if they were her or his own, here and now.

Although the structure of the dual unity directly links the "phantom" to the mother, Abraham and Torok nevertheless suggest it also can pertain to the father's lineage and even be passed from father to son. Abraham describes the case of a male scientist who inherited a "phantom" concealing a secret of illegitimacy (1975: 172-73). Initially passed from the grandmother to the father, having lodged in the father's unconscious, the secret was then transmitted to his scientist son (172-73).

Since the "phantom" has its genesis in someone else's unconscious it does not result from the child's own repressed material from his or her life experience but an external influence. Although it is testimony to the existence of an historical trauma, the "phantom" is, then, 'a variant of "the return of the repressed" for what returns to haunt is the trauma of another' (Whitehead 2004: 14 [See also Rashkin 1992: 28, Vidali 1996: 37, Davis 2007: 79]). The "phantom" thus '*bears witness to the existence of the dead buried within the other*' (Abraham 1975: 175, italics in original), a now deceased experience, the effects of which continue. Importantly, however, the "phantom" does not reveal the truth of the traumatic past, but aims instead 'to mislead the haunted subject and to ensure that its secret remains shrouded in mystery' (Davis 2005: 374).

The passage of the "phantom" is crafted by its silence, which takes the form of 'a gap or lacuna within the parent's speech' (Rashkin 1992: 27). This gap is not restricted to the parent, but transmitted to their offspring. As Abraham and Torok express it:

> Should a child have parents 'with secrets,' parents whose speech is not exactly complementary to their unstated repressions, the child will receive from them a gap in the unconscious, an unknown, unrecognized knowledge — a *nescience* — subjected to a form of 'repression' before the fact.
>
> The buried speech of the parent will be (a) dead (gap) without a burial place in the child. The unknown phantom returns from the unconscious to haunt its host and may lead to phobias, madness, and obsessions. (1975: n. 1, p. 140)

Thus, the child becomes haunted by 'the "unsaid" and "unsayable" of *an other*' (Rashkin 1992: 28, italics in original). The silenced past infiltrates the child's speech 'in the manner of a ventriloquist through the words and acts (readable as words) of the [haunted] subject' (28). The "phantom" testifies, then, to a traumatic memory that bedevils the psyches and also the speech of successive generations. Alive but linguistically buried in the parent, the trauma continues unburied but linguistically alive, yet mutated, in their offspring.

The silencing of the past means the haunted child is effectively charged with stowing away 'a secret it never knew' (Davis 2007: 79). Unconsciously, the child's ego is called on to quell the internal knowledge it has unwittingly been given: the ego must

make sure 'that it does not know what it knows, and that what it does not know will never become known to others' (79). Unbeknownst to him or her, the child is, then, a kind of guardian of the silenced past. Since the secret is kept unspoken the historical climate, in short, the condition, in which the trauma was experienced is also kept from immediate discourse. The "phantom" effectively encapsulates the event as a taboo that is unquestionable, essentially unremarkable in the present. Innately, the perpetuation of the secret clasps the child to the historical and cultural understanding which construed the event as traumatic. The "phantom" not only works, then, to falsify the child's past by imbricating it in a traumatic memory which she or he has not directly experienced, but also enjoins him or her to the circumstances that created it. As Rashkin points out, the formation of the "phantom" is therefore 'outside any developmental view of human behaviour' (1992: 27). Instead, this ghost contains the individual 'within a group dynamic constituted by a specific familial (and sometimes extrafamilial) topology', which functions as an impediment to their individuation (27).

Since the "phantom" is invested in prolonging the secretion of the trauma, it proliferates rather than encapsulates its effects. Abraham observes that the "phantom" corresponds to Freud's notion of the death drive: firstly, 'it has no energy of its own; it cannot be "abreacted," merely designated' (1975: 175). Secondly, 'it pursues its work of disarray in silence […] Finally, it gives rise to endless repetition and, more often than not, eludes rationalization' (175).[40] So long as the trauma remains unacknowledged and thus historically decontextualised, the "phantom" is able to reproduce 'its work of disarray' across the generations. Following Abraham and Torok's argument, the silenced trauma is effectively transmitted to the following generation and then passed on anew. Thus, the child may be haunted by a traumatic memory that not only relates to their parent(s), but also earlier generations. Nevertheless, Abraham suggests the "phantom effect" gradually fades during the process of trans-generational transmission and eventually disappears (176).

Importantly, however, where there are 'shared or complementary phantoms', which become 'established as social practices' through what Abraham calls '*staged words*' they do not diminish or vanish (176, italics in original). The emergence of words from the unconscious is an attempt to alleviate the effects of the "phantom" by putting these into the social sphere (176). But where the words are linked to 'shared or

[40] See also Rashkin 1992: 30-32 and Vidali 1996: 37.

complementary "phantoms"', they work to strengthen their effect by jointly enacting their roles of concealment (176). In such instances, the '*staged words*' work, then, socially to embed the silences about the traumatic past.

The "phantom" was originally conceptualised as the unconscious transmission of the silenced traumatic past from the parent to their offspring (or another person) (Rashkin 1992: 29-30). But in a re-reading of *Hamlet* Abraham implicitly modified the concept to include secrets about a traumatic past that are consciously kept from discussion (29-30). In his account, Abraham reinterprets the ghost of King Hamlet as 'the mute carrier of a secret' other than the one he returns openly to tell (24). Drawing on an incident that occurred before the play's events, which is referred to by Horatio (1.1), Abraham suggests 'the duel […] between King Hamlet and King Fortinbras was rigged' so that King Hamlet, aware that 'Gertrude ([who was then] not yet his wife) was in love with Fortinbras, killed the Norwegian ruler with a poisoned sword' (24). The ghost's stated secret is thus a true deceit (24). In Abraham's account: '[t]he "secret" […] is […] a subterfuge. It masks another secret […] resulting from an infamy which the father, unbeknownst to his son, has on his conscience' (1975a: 188-89).

Consequently, what returns to haunt Hamlet is 'the thing "phantomized" during the preceding generation, "phantomized" because it was unspeakable in words, because it had to be wrapped in silence' (188-89). Although the ghost (of King Hamlet) is aware of his own secret, 'his guilty conscience compels him to conceal the truth of his crime from others' (Rashkin 1992: 29). Furthermore, I would stress that the pervasive silence around the secret is implicitly amplified by its shared character: 'Abraham suggests that Polonius provided the poison for the sword' (24), and thus both the ghost and Polonius are party to the hiding of the deed (the withholding of the memory of the historical trauma).

The psychic burial of the silenced past

Abraham's adjustment to the concept of the "phantom" makes it 'an undisclosed family secret' that a parent consciously or unconsciously hands down 'to an unwitting descendant' (Rand 1994: 16 [See also Rashkin 1992: 29]). In cases of unconscious containment, Abraham and Torok suggest the repression of the secret — the silence that gives rise to the "phantom" — is initially sealed inside the metapsychological concept of the "crypt" (1975: 141). This psychic construction is formed to enclose the unspeakably shameful trauma in a 'false unconscious' — a cavity created within the ego

(Vidali 1996: 36). Derrida emphasizes that the "crypt" is not 'simply a metaphor for the gap inside oneself or the artificial unconscious which, like a prosthesis, is added to the divided self' (c. 1986, cited in Vidali 1996: 36). As Abraham and Torok stipulate,

> The crypt marks a definite place in the topography. It is neither the dynamic unconscious nor the ego of introjections. Rather, it is an enclave between the two, a kind of artificial unconscious, lodged in the very midst of the ego. (1971: 159)

The construction of the internal burial chamber impairs the workings of the unconscious mechanisms: '[s]uch a tomb has the effect of sealing up the semipermeable walls of the dynamic unconscious' (159). The unacknowledged silence around the traumatic past means the very suppression of the secret becomes unspoken (Vidali 1996: 36-37). But the contents of the "crypt" are not permanently contained within the parent. Rather, as we have seen, the internally stored silence — the "encrypted" version of reality — is passed on to the child as the "phantom". Both the "crypt" and the "phantom" are contingent upon silence, which they also reproduce. But whereas the "crypt" houses the traumatic silence, the "phantom" is bent on spreading its effects. As Gabriele Schwab points out, '[i]f the crypt is a secret psychic configuration arising from an individual's own life experiences, the phantom represents the interpersonal and trans-generational consequence of the silence imposed by the crypt' (2006: 109-10 [See also Rand 1994: 168, Davis 2007: 78]).

Rather than '*constitutive repression*', which is commonly known as 'dynamic repression', Abraham and Torok propose that the trauma is concealed in the "crypt" via a distinct form of '*preservative repression*' (1971: 159, italics in original). Whereas constitutive repression — which is particularly evident 'in hysteria' — arises from unanswered and forbidden desire, which 'born of prohibition, seeks a way out through detours and finds it through symbolic fulfilment', in 'preservative repression', by contrast, a desire which has been already directly satisfied is internally conserved (159). The desire 'lies buried — equally incapable of rising or of disintegrating' (159 [Schwab 2006: 107]). Abraham and Torok term a carrier of a "crypt" a "cryptophore" (1971: 158). Although the "crypt" results from 'an individual's own life experiences', since the role of the "phantom" is to propel the secret, the "crypt" (the false unconscious chamber which holds the secret) may be recreated in the child causing them too to become a

"cryptophore", precisely, a crypt-carrier by inheritance. By default, the "preservative repression" may, then, also operate within the child as it aims to keep both the "crypt" and the "phantom" (the silent issue of the "crypt") a closed chapter.

As Schwab points out, Abraham and Torok '[s]upplement Freud's theory of dynamic repression of censored emotions, which is based on a desire to get rid of the emotions', with the notion that the emotions are preserved, but closed off and encrypted 'in order to hide the traces of an obliterated event' (2006: 107). The mode of "preservative repression" functions to keep the trauma from the social sphere, steeled away. Thus, the child of a "cryptophore" is the inheritor of an already-fulfilled desire that has been understood as traumatic and effectively sealed with the label of an unbearable, shameful history.

Christopher Lane vehemently protests that Abraham and Torok's concept of "preservative repression" is 'conceptually incoherent' (1997: 16). His dispute with their theoretical view hinges on their understanding of the ego and the unconscious, which, he says, forecloses on the unconscious and reinstates the ego (8). Since, Lane asks, "preservative repression" is supposedly about 'the burying of "an already fulfilled desire", how — strictly speaking — can this desire be fulfilled, frozen, and later capable of entering consciousness?' (15). For Freudians, he contests, the term "preservative repression" is 'oxymoronic: [because] what is repressed cannot be *preserved* unless we conceive of the unconscious in egoic terms' (16, italics in original). Since it negates the ongoing role of the unconscious drives, Lane argues that Abraham and Torok's conceptualisation of a 'repression' that preserves the past — "an already-fulfilled desire" — empties 'the term of all psychic meaning and value' (16). Abraham and Torok's 'intricate account of egoic crypts' is inherently flawed, he claims, because it fails 'adequately [to] explain why the ego wards off those aspects of unconscious drives it *cannot* introject into consciousness' (8, italics in original). As Lane sees it, a 'problem with introjection occurs not because such drives represent a "family secret" of shared pain and trauma, but because, by their very nature, *these drives can never be conscious*' (8, italics in original). In my view, Lane's argument takes insufficient account of the fact that the internal construction of the "crypt" acts as a barrier to the unconscious drives, which shuts down their operations: '[s]uch a tomb has the effect of sealing up the semipermeable walls of the dynamic unconscious'.

An historical arrest of mourning

The "crypt" is predicated on a 'genuinely covert shift' in the whole psyche, upon which the security of the secret depends (Abraham and Torok 1975: 141). The shift enables the covering up of a forbidden history, which becomes temporally dislocated. Although the secret relates to a traumatic past it also concerns '[t]he memory […] of an idyll, experienced with a valued object and yet for some reason unspeakable' (141). The inner interment means both 'the idyllic moment' and the trauma that followed are psychically preserved in silence (141). Since the contents of the "crypt" are unspeakable they remain 'inaccessible to the gradual, assimilative work of mourning' (141). Abraham and Torok emphasize that '[t]he shift itself is covert, since both the fact that the idyll was real and that it was later lost must be disguised and denied' (141). The "crypt" concerns, then, an unmourned trauma, externally and inside (141).

Although the "crypt" is constructed to keep the trauma completely quiet, the silence is never entire. The concealment of the trauma is detectible or readable through 'the language and behaviour (translatable into language)' of a person (Rashkin 1992: 33). Often, the mechanism of concealment takes the form of what Abraham and Torok term "cryptonymy": operations in language that work to veil true meaning in the guise of articulating it (33 [see also Schwab 2006: 99]). A "cryptonym", Abraham and Torok suggest, is a word that is spoken to cover up the unutterable: 'literally a "word that hides"' (33).[41] By effectively dismembering an individual's body of linguistic expression, "cryptonymy" concurrently articulates and disguises the failure of mourning that is instrumental to the formation of the "crypt" and the "phantom". It testifies to an historical arrest of mourning in the face of traumatic experience. However, the suppression of the secret can also be conveyed without words. The effects of the silenced trauma can effectively express themselves corporeally. Schwab posits:

> Memories are passed on from generation to generation, most immediately through stories told or written, but more subliminally through a parent's moods or modes of being, which create a particular economy and aesthetics of care. Formed during the earliest phases of life, the latter are often remembered not as thoughts or words or stories but existentially as moods or even somatically in

[41] Abraham and Torok set out their theory in *The Wolf Man's Magic Word: A Cryptonymy* (c.1986). See also Rashkin 1992: 32-34, Schwab 2006: 102-11, especially 107-08 and Vidali 1996: 37-42.

> the form of embodied psychic life. Often it is through the trans-generational transmission of body memories and forms of somatic psychic life that trauma is unconsciously received and remembered. (104)

The "crypt" profoundly destabilises the psyche in the repressor of the traumatic memory. Hence, the distortion inherent in "cryptonymy", or spoken through the body, mirrors the reality it derives from. As indicated, the secret shift in the psyche equates to the covering up of a forbidden history and thus its temporal dislocation. Abraham and Torok point out that the "crypt" contains a memory that has been buried '*without legal burial place*' (1975: 141, italics in original). The burial seeks to negate entirely the effects of the historical loss, to erase them without any trace.

The collective constitution of the "phantom" and the "crypt"

Abraham and Torok primarily advance the theories of the "phantom" and the "crypt" in relation to individual traumatic memory transmitted on an intra-familial basis. However, the concepts also extend to collective memories and thus are important for recognising public denials of history. The secretion of the past pertains to families, communities and even nations which have not integrated their histories as such (Rand 1994: 169).

Anna Vidali has used Abraham and Torok's theoretical model to analyse an example of trans-generational transmission of trauma from the civil war in Greece (1946-50). Vidali's analysis of the relationship between a mother, Althaea, and her daughter, Atalante, concludes that the mother's suffering in the civil war was unconsciously passed on to her daughter. Especially, Vidali links Atalante's adoption of the same political path as her mother to the unconsciously-driven requirement to repeat 'her mother's suffering' (1996: 33). The repetition was propelled by the fact that Althaea's traumatic wartime experience — 'the violent destruction of her paternal family at the age of eighteen' through expulsion, imprisonment or murder, and her subsequent trial and condemnation to life imprisonment — was concealed from her daughter and the public sphere through its suppression 'in the form of a family secret' (34).[42] Although in joining the Communist Party as her mother had done before her Atalante evidently pursued 'a family tradition' (34), Vidali argues that when interviewed Atalante's 'narrative' nevertheless presented 'her political identity as

[42] The imprisonment lasted eight years in the event (34).

member of the Communist party in the 1980s as *the outcome of her mother's (unconscious) identification* with the defeated ideals of the Communist Party in the 1940s' (33-34, italics added). According to Vidali, Atalante's identity was unconsciously shaped by Althaea's unarticulated traumatic experience, which revealed itself through 'the contradictions and tensions' in Atalante's narrative that were still endeavouring to conceal her mother's secret both from herself and the public sphere (38).[43] Vidali's assessment of Atalante's narrative focuses on 'the language of the text' and 'the polysemic capacity of the words in the text' (38). The grounds for the analysis are rather limited, as it is based on only one interview with Atalante and Althaea at their home on 8, August 1989 (1996: n. 2, p. 33). The conclusions are therefore somewhat unscientific and tend towards conjecture. Significantly, however, Vidali emphasizes that the existence of the inter-generational secret — the "crypt" she perceives within Atalante's narrative — stops the survival of memory:

> [A]s long as the crypt exists and as long as it is transmitted from generation to generation there will be no memory of the Event, the Resistance, the Civil War. The Event will continue to remain trapped and buried inside the crypt. (Vidali 1996: 41)[44]

The muted traumatic memories persist as unquestionable and hence unquestioned and unintegrated history. While we may typically understand a traumatic event from the perspective of the victim, the secretion of the past may also pertain to a shamefully traumatic experience of perpetration against others or (perhaps interconnectedly) oneself. The covert psychic shift, which is integral to disguising the silenced trauma, can also take place in the face of a shamefully violent collective past. Schwab points out:

> While the secret is intrapsychic and indicates an internal psychic splitting, it can be collectively deployed and shared by a people or a nation. The collective or communal silencing of violent histories leads to the trans-generational transmission of trauma and the spectre of an involuntary repetition of cycles of violence. (2006: 100)

[43] For Vidali's analysis of Atalante's narrative see pp. 37-42.
[44] Rather than the "phantom", Vidali reads the "crypt" as being passed on.

As Schwab recalls, in *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (1967) Hannah Arendt showed that the destructiveness of European adventurers in Africa — many of whom went mad as a result of their violence against indigenous inhabitants — led to a burying and silencing of 'their guilt' and, linked to that act, 'their humanity' (Schwab 2006: 100-01). Consequently, the silence surrounding 'the genocide of indigenous peoples under colonial and imperial rule', which was wrapped up 'in a defensive discourse of progressing civilisation […] returned with a vengeance' (101). In the end, '[t]he ghosts of colonial and imperial violence propelled the Jewish holocaust' Arendt demonstrates (101). The unacknowledged past fed the rise of fascism.

Citing Alexander and Margarete Mitscherlich's argument that the German people experienced a stasis of mourning after the Second World War, Schwab suggests that post-war Germany was the product of a collective psychic "crypt":

> [T]he frantic *Wierderaufbau*, the rebuilding of Germany after the war, was a manic defense that covered another frantic construction in the national psyche, the secret erection of a crypt in which the Germans buried what they lost, yet denied having lost: their sense of themselves as a human people. (99-100)

For Dominick LaCapra, the notions of the "crypt" and the "phantom" are 'important' because they recognise the potential for "encrypting" or secreting aspects of the past and thus sustaining it as an 'un-worked-through heritage that [c]ould, at times mysteriously, haunt descendants and *possibly create the basis for a renewed fascination with fascism*' (1998: n. 11, p. 52 and 52, italics added). The unknown and unassimilated past can become a focus of curiosity, driven by a lack of knowledge which has been received and understood as beguiling. In other words, the past can become a subject of mystery-driven attraction.[45] Furthermore, LaCapra observes that the clothing of the past in secrecy easily lends it to serious misinterpretation as, for example, 'a secular analogue of "original sin"' (52). The unrecognised past is also susceptible to exaggeration as a locus of guilt (n. 14, p. 198). Extending LaCapra's point, Whitehead comments that 'the often ill-defined feelings of guilt that inform our emotional

[45] The encryption of the past, which renders it phantom-like links to Theodor Adorno's warning about a "diminished faculty of memory", which concerns 'the role of more or less open secrets in a nation's practice and its history' (LaCapra 1998: 51-52). As LaCapra reflects, the Holocaust was an 'open secret at the time of its occurrence and […] often maintained that status in the post-war era' (52).

investments in the past' can result in 'an unwitting over-identification' with narratives of trauma both by readers and writers (2004: 15), and, we might add, speakers and listeners.

For Abraham and Torok, the silent presence of the unacknowledged traumatic past in the present must be altered into speech, in order to arrest its insidious effects on the individual and society (Rand 1994: 22). Via the vehicle of psychoanalysis and psychotherapy, the "phantom" and its secrets should be exposed, and the "crypt" revealed so that its contents can be integrated into conscious thought (n. 18, p. 22). Abraham defines psychoanalysis as 'an investigative theory of the readable sources of meaning', while his and Torok's work explores language 'as a system of expressive traces' (Rand 1994: 6-7). By way of a psychoanalysis that especially concentrates on linguistic expression, Abraham and Torok aim to remove the obstacles to "introjection", the process they view as central to the organisation of mental life (Rand 1994: 7).[46] In other words, they seek to reinstate 'the spontaneous work of introjection' (16), by dismantling impediments like 'unfelt mourning, unassimilated trauma, the unwitting psychical inheritance of someone else's secrets' (22). Ultimately, Abraham and Torok's theories aim to,

> [I]ntensify the telltale aspects of language, that is, to increase the eloquence and readability of symptoms […] in the face of the most resistant of pathologies: the blocked expression of a memory trace which cannot tell the submerged history of its own (traumatic) origins. (7)

The exposition of the secret enables the healing of the traumatic wound and its potential closure. Thus, according to Abraham and Torok, "introjection" can recur unimpeded by the silent burden of the traumatic past (Rand 1994: 22). More tentatively, since the traumatic wound always leaves the trace of a scar, even if an almost imperceptible one, I would add that the uncovering of the secret may at least grant the process of "introjection" the capacity to function as it did prior to the traumatic occurrence, by clearing the psyche of its burdensome silence.

Trans-generational haunting, as conceptualised by Abraham and Torok, concerns the phantomatic return of the unspoken traumatic past in the present. From a

[46] The concept of introjection was created by Sandor Ferenczi who defined it as 'the process of broadening the ego' (Abraham and Torok 1994: 127).

broad historical perspective, the subsequent recurrence of the effects of the trauma is similar to Freud's concept of "*Nachträglichkeit*", insofar as the trauma resounds at a temporal distance from the event itself. But trans-generational haunting differs from Freudian theory, because rather than those who experienced the trauma directly, its effects reverberate in the following generations. Since, as Abraham and Torok underline, the trans-generational transmission of the memory derives specifically from the silence that surrounds it — a silence which has been consciously or unconsciously produced — the integration of the historical trauma links directly to the breaking of the silence, in other words, the narration of the traumatic memory.

Bearing witness to repressed histories

In the light of Abraham and Torok's theories, the articulation of historical trauma is critical to preventing its automatic unconscious repetition and to helping it heal. Narrating the traumatic memory not only acknowledges its existence, but also directly counters its forgetting and concomitant repression. However, since trauma inherently resists representation, its narration is never straightforward. As we saw at the start of the chapter, a traumatic event is designated as such by its removal from consciousness. Instead of a presence — something that might be remembered — the traumatic memory thus takes the form of an absence. Although the memory-traces endure within the unconscious, the seemingly absent trauma is typically echoed in its lack of linguistic expression. As Ferrán points out, 'a fundamental characteristic of a traumatic experience is that it usually forecloses any attempt to express it in words' (2001: 270). But even though the traumatic wound is, at root, beyond narration, it remains intimately and profoundly connected to language (270). 'Telling and witnessing' are essential 'for healing trauma' (Schwab 2006: 102). The putting of the trauma into words constitutes an attempt to soothe the wound by signifying its reality. Narration affords 'some kind of shelter' from the injury by endeavouring to accommodate it, to contain and make sense of its effects (Ferrán 2001: 270). However, language can never truly manifest the experience of the traumatic event, but only approach it while being removed from it. There is, then, an acute paradox within 'traumatic writing' (Schwab 2006: 102). Even as some examples of violence — 'holocaust, genocide, torture, and rape — are considered beyond representation […] they also call for speech, testimony, and witnessing' (102).

As we saw at the start of the chapter, Freud theorised that the "compulsion to repeat" which characterises a traumatic experience is an attempt to master the forgotten and repressed past by bringing it to consciousness. In the symbolic sphere, once the traumatic memory has been acknowledged it becomes a constitutive element of public consciousness. LaCapra has observed that 'trauma causes disturbances in the symbolic order' (2001: 215, cited in Schwab 2006: 111). That is to say, the effects of an historical trauma are not confined to an individual, but leak into and haunt the public arena. Consequently, Schwab remarks, 'certain literary writings of trauma' can be seen as 'attempts to work toward reparation of the symbolic' (2006: 111). While writing about trauma might seek to master the past at an individual level, at the same time it aims to give balm to the wider effects of the wound on the present — to stitch the rents the trauma has torn in the fabric of the symbolic, so to speak.

In drawing on a past that has been forgotten and repressed, the narration of the traumatic memory recreates identity in the present. By recognising the trauma as an historical occurrence, narrative inserts it in the symbolic sphere and accordingly weaves it into the public perception of the past. The admission of the traumatic experience bears witness to the "return of the repressed" and thus counters the erosion of history. Instead of enduring in the unconscious, the traumatic memory moves into and becomes part of collective consciousness. Where history remains removed from the public arena, as with Republican memory in Francoist Spain, the vocalisation of the traumatic event re-inscribes it in collective memory. As explained in the Introduction, during the Franco dictatorship the memories of the Republican defeated were eroded in the public sphere. For nearly four decades, the so-called '"vanquished" […] had to renounce their past, experiences and identity' (Cenarro 2002: 167). Subsequently, the Transition's prevailing culture of disremembrance of the recent past meant the memories of the civil war and Franco era — including those of the Republican past — remained excluded from the public sphere for some further twenty years. But as set out in the Introduction these histories and memories eventually surfaced in the public realm during Spain's resurgence of memory from around 1998.

The articulation of the traumatic past addresses its absence and contests a state of amnesia. But while the narration affirms the existence of the traumatic memories, it does not afford the permanent closure of the wound. Paradoxically, since 'the dynamics of trauma never come to a point of complete resolution' (Ferrán 2001: 288) the narration of the trauma does not actually end. Even when it appears to have been

mastered through discourse the memory of the traumatic event is always being remembered and recounted afresh. 'The traumatic memory recurs inevitably', Ferrán remarks, 'and thus has to be dealt with forever in new contexts, in new situations where we might have thought the problem had been finally settled' (288).

Since the wound wrought by the trauma never fully closes, neither does the discourse around it. The discourse attests to the traumatic event and thus reaffirms its historical registration as such, by resisting its further forgetting. A recurrent discourse about the memory of the event constitutes its residual trace. At the same time, the persistence of the discourse — its cultural tenacity as it were — shows that the trauma has not been entirely assimilated to consciousness, in other words historically resolved. However, the continuation of the discourse sustains the conscious recognition of the traumatic memory and in so doing it outlives the obliteration encountered in the event. As Derrida points out:

> When a discourse *holds* in some way, it is...because it has been opened up on the basis of some traumatizing event, by an upsetting question that does not let one rest…and because it nevertheless resists the destruction begun by this traumatism. (1995: 381, cited in Wyschogrod 1998: 178, italics in original)

The complete discharge of the discourse — its ending, in short — would ultimately equate to its death. Laying the discourse to rest would turn back on that which gave it breath, afforded it verbalisation. The closure of the discourse would symbolically undo the psychic survival of the event and indeed the memories about it. The endurance of the discourse, its holding, as Derrida puts it, attests to the lingering presence of the memory-traces of the traumatic experience in the unconscious. The discourse has to last just as they do, in order to express the event, to reconstruct the memory again and again, to pass it on and write it, rewrite it, anew.

Turning to Ruiz Zafón's *La sombra del viento*, I now aim to show how the theory of trans-generational haunting illuminates the novel's theme of inter-generational silence about the memory of the civil war and the Francoist repression. I will explore trans-generational haunting within the context of private and familial memory of the war, but also demonstrate how it extends to the collective silencing of the past in the public sphere. Especially, I will emphasize how the representation of the past as traumatic interconnects with the return of memory in successive generation(s). Through

its themes of memory and post-war legacy, I will argue that Ruiz Zafón's novel constitutes an example of the emerging genre which Anne Whitehead has named 'trauma fiction'. I will highlight how *La sombra del viento* symbolises the trans-generational transmission of memories and thus represents the emergence of private memories of the war into the public sphere during Spain's resurgence of memory after 1998. In addition, I will show how the novel both resembles and contributes to the international facet of the resurgence of memory. *La sombra del viento* represents the construction of a collective cultural memory of the post-war period and a re-shaping of the post-war consciousness in a European context.

Synopsis

La sombra del viento has a highly interwoven, temporally shifting plot, spanning 1899–1966 and centring on 1945–55. It is principally narrated in the first person by Daniel Sempere, the son of a second-hand bookshop owner in post-war Barcelona, the capital of Catalonia. The novel consists of two interwoven stories: that of Daniel's search for the identity of an apparently absent novelist, Julián Carax, and that of Julián's disappearance and supposed death. At the beginning of the novel just before his eleventh birthday Daniel's father takes him to a secret library for books consigned to oblivion. Daniel inherits Carax's memory in the form of the only book that is left from his corpus of work. When Daniel tries to find out the truth about Carax's life, and thus recover his lost identity, he discovers a mysterious stranger has been burning Carax's books.

As Daniel unearths Carax's lost story, he meets Nuria Monfort, the daughter of Isaac Monfort, the gatekeeper of the secret library. Simultaneously, it emerges that Inspector Fumero, a brutal police executioner and torturer, is interested in Carax's history. As the search for Carax intensifies, aspects of his past reappear in Daniel's own life and Daniel finds he too is at risk from Inspector Fumero.

After Nuria is murdered by Fumero, Isaac gives Daniel a letter she has left for him about her and Carax's past. Daniel learns that Carax fell in love with a young girl, Penélope Aldaya, who, unbeknownst to either of them, was his half-sister. When their father, don Ricardo Aldaya, discovered Penélope was pregnant he locked her in at home. Penélope and her baby son died and were secretly buried in the Aldaya mansion. Daniel has a secret liaison in the now empty and dilapidated mansion with Beatriz

(Bea), the sister of his best friend. When Bea becomes pregnant she goes to the mansion where Carax is also hiding.

After reading Nuria's letter Daniel goes to the mansion. Inspector Fumero follows him and when Fumero tries to shoot Julián Carax, Daniel shields the author but is badly wounded himself. Carax kills Fumero. While Daniel is recovering in hospital, Carax silently reappears at his bedside. Daniel marries Bea and they have a son called Julián. In an untitled coda, Daniel takes his son to the secret library where he found Carax's novel.

Critical reception

La sombra del viento (2001) has had huge commercial success both in Spain and internationally. To date, it has sold more than 12 million copies in over 50 countries worldwide and been translated into more than 40 languages.[47] My references are to the Spanish original and the translation into English by Lucia Graves (2004). The novel has won several awards in different countries, including Premio de los Lectores de la Vanguardia 2002 and Premio Protagonistas 2003 (Spain); Livre de Poche 2006, Premio al mejor libro extranjero, Prix du Scribe, Prix Michelet and Prix de Saint Emilion (France); Ottakar's Prize and Nielsen Golden Book Award (UK); Borders Original Voices Award (USA); Bjornson Order al mérito literario (Norway) and Premio Varzim de Povoa (Portugal).[48]

Ruiz Zafón's novel was not widely reviewed in Spain but won 'modest critical acclaim' (Brenneis 2008: 62). In *La Vanguardia* Justo Barranco claimed its various characters construct '[un] efectivo aliño, que, por activa y pasiva, reivindica la lectura' ['(a) genuine dressing, that, actively and passively, rehabilitates reading'].[49] In *Turia* Francisco Lázaro Polo summarised *La sombra del viento* as 'un folletín bien escrito' ['a well-written newspaper serial'], in which the characters, settings and events 'al convertirse en contrapunto del panorama realista de posguerra, lleguen a impactarnos y a despertarnos la poca fantasía que nos queda a los nietos y bisnietos de la guerra' ['in turning themselves into a counterpoint to the realist panorama of the post-war, actually have a profound impact on us and wake us up to the little fantasy that remains to us for

[47] <http://www.carlosruizzafon.co.uk/shadow-worldwide.html> [accessed 12 November 2014]
[48] <http://www.lasombra delviento.net/> [accessed 12 November 2014]
[49] <http://hemeroteca.lavanguardia.com/preview/2001/06/18/pagina-43/34188071/pdf.html?search=ruiz%20zaf%C3%B3n> [accessed 6 January 2015]

the grand- and great-grandchildren of the war'] (2002: 366-67). But in *Revista de libros de la Fundación Caja Madrid* Santos Sanz Villanueva thought the novel was 'desconcertante' ['disconcerting'] and not about 'verosimilitud' ['verisimilitude'], but 'fabular sin límite alguno' ['telling stories without any limit'] (2002: 54).

Reviews of the novel were similarly mixed in the UK. In *The Guardian* Michael Kerrigan said Ruiz Zafón's book has 'undoubted flaws', but is 'irresistibly readable' due to its 'big and varied cast of memorable characters'.[50] In *The Observer* Robert Colvile called the novel 'a celebration of the imagination' that is 'atmospheric, beguiling and thoroughly readable', but concluded it ultimately 'lacks the magic its early chapters promise'.[51] However, further afield, in *The Washington Post* Michael Dirda greatly praised 'the story's richness and architectonic intricacy', enthusiastically suggesting that 'anyone who enjoys novels that are scary, erotic, touching, tragic and thrilling should rush right out to the nearest bookstore and pick up The Shadow of the Wind'.[52] But some reviews were strikingly negative. In Germany's *Die Zeit*, for example, Martin Lüdke stated:

> Der Versuch, einen originellen, von der ersten bis zur letzten Seite spannenden, regelrecht süffigen Roman zu schreiben, ist nicht strafbar. Es ist nur sträflich, wie leichtfertig Zafón seine Möglichkeiten verspielt hat.[53]
>
> [The attempt to write an original, really absorbable novel, suspenseful from the first to the last page, is not an offence. It is only criminal how thoughtlessly Zafón has gambled his possibilities away. (My translation)]

Some critics emphasized the historical aspects of the novel. In *The Los Angeles Times* Peter Green observed that Ruiz Zafón depicts Barcelona as 'a vast amorphous symbol for the legacy of guilt, misery, unresolved conflict and social disruption left by the [Spanish] Civil War'.[54] In *The New York Times* Richard Eder claimed the historical

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[50] <http://www.theguardian.com/books/2004/jun/26/ featuresreviews.guardianreview25> [accessed 12 November 2014]
[51] <www.guardian.co.uk/books/2004/jun/06/fiction.features> [accessed 12 November 2014]
[52] <http://www.washington post.com/ac2/wp-dyn/A35314-2004Apr22> [accessed 10 September 2009]
[53] <http://www.zeit.de/2003/51/L-Zafon> [accessed 12 November 2014]
[54] <http://articles.latimes.com/2004/may/02/books/bk-green2> [accessed 12 November 2014]
[47] <http://www.nytimes.com/2004/04/25/books/in-the-cementery-of-forgotten-books.html> [accessed 12 November 2014]

setting was ever present: '[t]hroughout,' he wrote, 'the residue of the war's fraternal horror is the grave thematic substratum beneath capers and mystifications'.[55] For Eder, the elaborate plot and narrative style illuminate the historical background: '[o]stensibly an undertheme to the pyrotechnics' the civil war is 'in fact […] the theme — an enduring darkness that the pyrotechnics serve to light up'. In lieu of 'tragedy' the novel presents 'a working out from under. For Daniel and Beatriz, the outcome offers a suggestion of tentative healing'.

There is quite a lot of academic criticism of *La sombra del viento*. Enrique Montero Cartelle claims the novel uses colour as a primary stylistic device, as it is not only a strong feature of characters, but also descriptions of weather, places and objects, where it often signals Daniel's state of mind (2005: 276-77). For Tiffany Gagliardi Trotman, *La sombra del viento* is a 'hybrid' of '*noir* fiction, or *novela negra* [dark novel], and Gothic fiction', which uses various 'Gothic spaces' to illustrate its 'socio-historical' setting of 'post-Civil War Spain' (2007: 269). Ruiz Zafón's work is 'a novel of historical memory', which seeks 'to reconcile the past with the present' and thus enable 'twenty-first-century Catalan culture to deal with the suffering of the past' (276).

I agree with Trotman's emphasis on the Gothic qualities of *La sombra del viento* and that it is a work of historical memory. However, I will emphasize that the novel reconciles the past with the present through the construction of a collective cultural memory of the civil war and Francoist past.

Glennis and Gordon Byron suggest *La sombra del viento* is 'a highly self-conscious gothic text' that is also a 'memory text' (2012: 72). Although both types of text are interested in 'the historical past', they contend that whereas memory texts focus on 'the need to recover a forgotten or silenced past', gothic ones grapple with 'the continuing presence of that past, […] its continuing power and threat' (72). Consequently, as 'both memory text and gothic text' *La sombra del viento* has 'an irresolvable tension at the heart of its representation of, and attitudes to, the historical past' (72). While the novel suggests 'the silenced Spanish past must be known and spoken about', in its 'moments of threatened repetition' the Byrons claim there is a sense that some of the characters — notably Bea and Daniel — are going 'to be overwritten […] by the past, the past of others, […] condemned miserably to an interminable replaying of their tragedies […] overwhelmed by the omnipresent past'

(80). Thus, from a Gothic perspective, the novel is not so certain 'the past is something that must be retrieved […] [and] not lie unspoken' (82).

I agree that *La sombra del viento* is both an overtly gothic text and a memory text. Similarly, I concur there is an 'irresolvable tension' at the core of its stance on the past. As I see it, however, regardless of its Gothic aspects, this tension applies to the novel as a work of memory. I aim to show that *La sombra del viento* is not only about the recuperation of Spain's forgotten or silenced past, but also the haunting effects of that past in the present.

Sara J. Brenneis sees *La sombra del viento* as an example of *noir* with a visible 'historical undercurrent' (2008: 61-62). For Brenneis, the book is 'an anti-Francoist novel' that aims to situate 'the political and societal divisions apparent after the Spanish Civil War in the daily lives of the Barcelona populace' and show how 'first as Catalans and second as individuals with left-leaning politics, these personages are doubly caught outside the mainstream of conservative post-war Spanish society' (67). Brenneis claims Ruiz Zafón's book is a twenty-first-century extension of the various 'historically-based cultural productions', which countered the "pact of silence" in the early part of the Transition (63). The popular appeal of the novel reflects its emergence at 'a pivotal point […] [in] Spain's dialogue with its […] history and the country's assertion of a relevant voice in world affairs', with the book leaving 'its own significant mark on both issues' (64).

I agree that *La sombra del viento* is an important part of the resurgence of memory in Spain since around 1998. However, rather than an anti-Francoist text, I read the novel as a representation of the trans-generational transmission of memories. I share Brenneis's view of the novel's importance in shaping Spain's historical consciousness at an international level; specifically, I suggest, it forms part of the pan-European "memory boom" that occurred after 1989.

According to Robert Richmond Ellis, Ruiz Zafón's novel is an 'anti-Francoist' memory text, but its account of the civil war and post-war era is 'depoliticized' (2006: 839). Ellis claims *La sombra del viento* hinges on a conflation of self and other that takes place in 'the dynamics of reading and writing', which are located in 'father-son relationships' (850), and, in particular, that between Julián and Daniel (849-851).

Far from being a depoliticized reading of Spain's post-war era, in my view the novel's representation of the recuperation of the Spanish past is clearly politicized as it chimes with the recovery of Republican memories from circa 1998. However, I accord

with Ellis that there is some fusion of self and other between Julián and Daniel, but I would emphasize that Daniel also differs from Julián, because, unlike Julián, Daniel attempts to destroy neither his writing nor himself. On the contrary, Daniel seeks to recover Julián's memory and thereby his own. Similarly, I would point out that 'the dynamics of reading and writing' are not limited to 'father-son relationships', as female characters — notably Beatriz (Bea) and Nuria — also shape these dynamics. Bea is a literature student (*La sombra*: 132 [*Shadow*: 110]) who relates the history of the Aldaya mansion to Daniel (*La sombra*: 277-87 [*Shadow*: 239-48]), while Nuria, who works in publishing as a secretary and translator (*La sombra*: 196-98 [*Shadow*: 167-68]), has a profound love of reading, particularly stories (*La sombra*: 423-24 [*Shadow*: 368-69]). Moreover, Nuria shares this interest with her father Isaac, while the rupture in their relationship reflects the novel's note of absence, which is a key aspect of its dynamics of reading and writing.

For Lorraine Ryan, *La sombra del viento* is 'a detective novel' that forms 'a powerful tool of anamnesis', inasmuch as its representation of Daniel's search for 'an elusive past' parallels Spain's investigations 'into its own dictatorial past' (2014: 139). Ryan claims Daniel's explorations are shared with his friend Fermín (139). In highlighting the effects of the Franco regime on characters like Fermín the novel helps to illuminate 'history from below', she argues, and thus contributes to Spain's 'collective self-knowledge […] [of] Republican memory' (139-40). *La sombra del viento* depicts Barcelona 'as a resistant space', which preserves 'Republican subjectivity' by way of 'adept spacial manipulation' (142).

I accord with Ryan that *La sombra del viento* is an important component of Spain's resurgent interest in the memory of the civil war and Francoist past. Likewise, I concur Daniel's investigations have a shared character. As I see it, however, Daniel's search for Julián Carax's past is not only carried out with Fermín, but also involves various other characters, including, for example, Beatriz (Bea) Aguilar. I aim to show how the recovery of Julián's absent memory thus represents the construction of a collective cultural memory of Spain's civil war and post-war past.

Catherine D'Humières maintains *La sombra del viento* is a 'véritable hommage au livre et à la lecture' ['true homage to the book and to reading'], which is structured around 'le concept même de bibliothèque dans son acception la plus ample' ['the very

concept of the library, in its fullest sense'] (2007: 339).[56] For D'Humières, '[t]oute l'histoire oscille d'une bibliothèque à l'autre, en une étrange dualité porteuse de vie et de mort' ['(t)he whole story oscillates from one library to another, in a strange duality carrier of life and death'] (339).

I agree with D'Humières' emphasis on the role of libraries in Ruiz Zafón's novel and I also concur that the novel has twin aspects of life and death. To my mind, however, these two elements reflect the novel's theme of inter-generational silence about the memories of the civil war (death) and the trans-generational transmission of memories (life).

I now aim to demonstrate how the theme of memory in *La sombra del viento* reflects the concept of trans-generational haunting with regard to Spain's civil war and post-war past. I suggest that the apparent disappearance of Julián Carax's history is a metonym for the silenced memories of the civil war in post-war Barcelona. The absence of Carax's past in Daniel's present illustrates the inter-generational silence about the memories of the war during the Franco era. Ruiz Zafón's novel shows how Franco's distorted history of the war, and the linked disfigurement of Republican identity, filtered through to the following generation. The discursive burial of Carax's history resembles the suppressed memory of the war in Daniel's family and also highlights its communal character.

I focus on Daniel's search for the absent history of Julián Carax and highlight how the recovery of Carax's past is shown as necessary to Daniel's present and the formation of his identity. While Daniel belongs to the generation that grew up in the early wake of the war, the novel also reflects the trans-generational effects of the disremembrance of the recent past during the Spanish Transition. Daniel's insistent desire to discover Julián's identity chimes with the contemporary drive to recover the memories of the civil war and Francoist past by the so-called 'generación de los nietos de los vencidos'. The exposition of Julián's secreted memory represents the putting of the past into speech and thus the trans-generational transmission of memories. I show how the repetition of Carax's traumatic past and supposed death in the life of Daniel symbolises the concept of a haunted past, but also the onset of mourning. The returning of Julián's memory has a collective character that reflects the resurgence of the memory of the civil war and Francoist past in Spanish public consciousness since around 1998.

[56] All translations of D'Humières are mine.

The return of the traumatic past in the generation after

In *La sombra del viento* the apparently absent memory of the novelist Julián Carax is inherited in the form of a book from a secret library: the 'Cementerio de los Libros Olvidados' (*La sombra del viento*: 13)[57] ['Cemetery of Forgotten Books' (*The Shadow of the Wind*: 1)].[58] Daniel's introduction to the Cemetery-library is a kind of initiation ritual whereby he has to become a lifelong guardian of one of its books (*La sombra*: 15 [*Shadow*: 3]). When Daniel's father takes him to the library just before his eleventh birthday in keeping with its first-visit tradition he tells Daniel he has to choose a book and 'adoptarlo, asegurándose de que nunca desaparezca, de que siempre permanezca vivo' (*La sombra*: 17) ['adopt it, making sure that it will never disappear, that it will always stay alive' (*Shadow*: 4)].

Daniel chooses a book by Julián Carax, which like Ruiz Zafón's novel is called *La sombra del viento*. When he finds it, Daniel tells us:

> [S]upe que ya había elegido el libro que iba a adoptar. O quizá debiera decir el libro que me iba a adoptar a mí. […] Jamás había oído mencionar aquel título o a su autor, pero no me importó. […] [T]uve la seguridad de que aquel libro había estado allí esperándome durante años, probablemente desde ante de que yo naciese. (*La sombra*: 17-18)
>
> [I knew I had already chosen the book I was going to adopt. Or perhaps I should say the book that was going to adopt me. (…) I had never heard of the title or the author, but I didn't care. (…) I felt sure that *The Shadow of the Wind* had been waiting there for me for years, probably since before I was born. (*Shadow*: 5)][59]

Despite his unfamiliarity with the novel and its author, the book's long expectancy of Daniel suggests it as his due inheritance. Daniel's description of Carax's novel as 'el libro que me iba a adoptar a mí' ['the book that was going to adopt me'] marks a reversal of the first-visit tradition of the Cemetery-library. Instead of Daniel

[57] Hereafter, all references to the text are abbreviated to '*La sombra*'.
[58] Hereafter, all references to the English translation are abbreviated to '*Shadow*'.
[59] I have here modified the English translation, 'I knew I had already chosen the book I was going to adopt, or the book that was going to adopt me' (*Shadow*: 5).

adopting the book, it effectively claims Daniel.[60]

[60] The idea of a person being adopted by a book occurs in various examples of recent Spanish literature. For instance, in Javier Marías's *Negra espalda del tiempo* [*The dark back of time*] (1998) a first-person narrator 'relato con numerosos incisos que tiene su punto de arranque en una novela anterior, llena de bromas y exageraciones, *Todas las almas* (1989)' ['relates with numerous digressions that he has his starting point in an earlier novel, full of jokes and exaggerations, *All Souls* (1989)'] (Báez-Ramos 2000: 484). When it was published, *Todas las almas* was widely seen as 'a true representation' of Marías's 'own life and experiences […] at Oxford University, where he taught Spanish literature and translation from 1983 to 1985', and the novel's 'reception' or rather 'misperception' as such led to the second novel (Herzberger 2014: 132-33). *Negra espalda del tiempo* seeks to address how 'esa novela titulada *Todas las almas* se prestó también a la casi absoluta identificación entre su narrador sin nombre y su autor con nombre, Javier Marías' (*Negra espalda del tiempo*: 16) ['this novel, entitled *Todas las almas* or, in English, *All Souls*, lent itself to the almost absolute identification of its nameless narrator with its named author, Javier Marías' (*The dark back of time*: 13)]. In Antonio Muñoz Molina's *Sefarad* [*Sepharad*] (2001), in the chapter "Münzenberg" the narrator recounts his discovery of the German communist activist Willi Münzenberg while reading: 'Por casualidad […] yo encontré a Willi Münzenberg en un libro […] En un momento de la lectura [de ese libro] se produjo sin que yo me diera cuenta una transmutación de mi actitud, y quien había sido sólo un nombre y un personaje oscuro y menor me estremeció como una presencia poderosa, alguien que aludía muy intensamente a mí, a lo que más me importa o a aquello que soy en el fondo de mí mismo' ['By chance (…) I met Willi Münzenberg in a book (…) In a moment of the reading (of this book) it produced without me realising a transmutation of my attitude and he who had been only a name and a dark and minor character struck me as a powerful presence, someone who referred very intensely to me, to that which matters most to me or to what I am deep down in myself' (My translation)] (*Sefarad* 2001: 195-96, cited in Grohmann 2011: 156-57). Thus, Muñoz Molina's novel illustrates a 'gradual inhabiting of the self by the other [which] is the product of reading' (O'Donoghue 2014: 225). The device of a person being adopted by a book also crops up in Rosa Montero's semi-autobiographical text *La loca de la casa* [*The madwoman of the house*] (2003). Alexis Grohmann has suggested that the leitmotif of a whale, 'nos revela algo, muy posiblemente de forma no del todo consciente, sobre la aspiración y la forma de esa obra' ['reveals something to us, very possibly in a not entirely conscious way, about the aspiration and the form of this work'] (2011: 231). The whale's first appearance, 'en un pasaje autobiográfico' ['in an autobiographical passage'], is immediately linked to literature through a quotation from the writer Julio Ramón Ribeyro which ends: 'Guardamos todos un libro, tal vez un gran libro, pero que en el tumulto de nuestra vida interior rara vez emerge o lo hace tan rápidamente que no tenemos tiempo de arponearlo' ['We all keep a book, maybe a big book, but in the tumult of our interior life it rarely emerges or it does so quickly that we do not have time to harpoon it' (My translation)] (Montero 2003: 51, cited in Grohmann 2011: 231-32). Through a later reference to Hermann Melville's *Moby Dick; or, The Whale* Montero indicates its relation to the form and themes of *La loca de la casa*, thereby revealing her unconscious adoption by Melville's book (233). Finally, in *La ridícula idea de no volver a verte* [*The ridiculous idea of not returning to see you*] (2013) in which Montero's mourning for the loss of her husband Pablo is interspersed with the scientist Marie Curie's struggle with the death of her husband Pierre, Montero is adopted by Marie Curie's diary, along with biographies by her daughter Ève Curie and, amongst others, Barbara Goldsmith and Sarah Dry (Fernández-Lamarque 2015: 185). Three years after Pablo's death, Montero was asked to write a prologue to the diary Marie Curie had written after the death of Pierre, and was so moved by Curie's diary that the prologue turned into a book, to which the diary was appended at the end (Montero 2013: 17, cited in Kelly 2018: 21).

Daniel discovers *La sombra del viento* was Carax's last work and that since the rest of his books have been burned by a mysterious stranger Daniel has the only copy left. Although the book represents the narrative trace of Carax's past, the presence of the book also constitutes a cover, as it were, for the absence of its author and the story of his past. In the light of the theory of trans-generational haunting, the book represents the metapsychological concept of the "phantom" (Abraham 1975: 171), which has emerged a generation later. Although Daniel is not genetically related to Julián Carax, his inheritance of the book reflects what Abraham and Torok would term 'the buried speech' about Carax's past in Daniel's generation (n. 1, p. 140).

The secrecy around Julián Carax relates to his personal traumatic history, but it is also a metaphor for the silenced memories of the civil war. While Julián is not indicated as part of the Republican constituency his apparent disappearance connects to his supposed death at the time of the war and his unidentified grave. The "phantomisation" of Julián's past reflects the absent narrative of the memory of the civil war in Daniel's family. When Daniel says he has been thinking about the war, his father's response is wordless. We learn:

> Mi padre asintió con gesto sombrío y sorbió su sopa en silencio. Era un hombre reservado y, aunque vivía en el pasado, casi nunca lo mencionaba. Yo había crecido en el convencimiento de que aquella lenta procesión de la posguerra, un mundo de quietud, miseria y rencores velados, era tan natural como el agua del grifo, y que aquella tristeza muda que sangraba por las paredes de la ciudad herida era el verdadero rostro de su alma. Una de las trampas de la infancia es que no hace falta comprender algo para sentirlo. Para cuando la razón es capaz de entender lo sucedido, las heridas en el corazón ya son demasiado profundas. (*La sombra*: 49)

> [My father nodded gloomily and quietly sipped his soup. He was a very private person, and although he lived in the past, he hardly ever mentioned it. I had grown up convinced that the slow procession of the postwar years, a world of stillness, poverty, and hidden resentment, was as natural as tap water, that the mute sadness that seeped from the walls of the wounded city was the real face of its soul. One of the pitfalls of childhood is that one doesn't have to understand

something to feel it. By the time the mind is able to comprehend what has happened, the wounds of the heart are already too deep. (*Shadow*: 33)]

Following the theory of trans-generational haunting, the memory of the civil war is reflected as an unspoken traumatic experience, which has been generationally passed on (Abraham 1975: 171). The text tells us that Daniel's father's cladding of (his) recent history in silence has not inhibited its trans-generational transmission. Daniel has received its psychic impact all the same. Daniel's observation — '[u]na de las trampas de la infancia es que no hace falta comprender algo para sentirlo' ['(o)ne of the pitfalls of childhood is that one doesn't have to understand something to feel it'] — suggests that he has unwittingly inherited the silenced memory of the civil war in the form of what Abraham and Torok would denote as a "phantom" (Abraham 1975: 171). Although Daniel has been given an unknown past — the "phantom" is transmitted as 'a gap in the unconscious, an unknown, unrecognized knowledge' (n. 1, p. 140) — it is suggested as a palpable presence. The text tells us that Daniel is a subject who is haunted by the memories of a silenced traumatic past.

The 'gap' represents the transmitted suppression or suspension of knowledge about the memory of the civil war and thus links to what Abraham and Torok would call the 'buried speech' of Daniel's father (n. 1, p. 140). However, the "phantom" also emanates from the ambience of post-war Barcelona. The description, 'aquella tristeza muda que sangraba por las paredes de la ciudad herida' ['the mute sadness that seeped from the walls of the wounded city'], reflects the concept of an unspoken traumatic memory. *La sombra del viento* thus represents the memory of the civil war as a haunting past produced by the Transition's political and psychic rupture with recent history.

The presence of a trans-generational "phantom" is reflected in Daniel's obsession with the memory of the civil war. Shortly after, as Daniel and his father converse, Daniel tells us 'el único [tema] que pude encontrar era el que me consumía las entrañas' (*La sombra*: 50) ['the only (subject) (…) I could find was the one that was consuming me' (*Shadow*: 34)]. He asks: —En la guerra, ¿es verdad que se llevaban a la gente al castillo de Montjuïc y no se les volvía a ver? (*La sombra*: 50) ['Is it true that during the war people were taken to Montjuïc Castle and were never seen again?' (*Shadow*: 34)]. The idea of Daniel being eaten up with the memory of the civil war reflects him as a haunted subject. Rather than repressed material from Daniel's own life

experience the symptoms have been generated by an external influence. His father's 'buried speech' about Barcelona's traumatic past has produced psychic symptoms in Daniel.

The presence of the "phantom" indicates, then, an unmourned past. Despite its unconscious conveyance, we learn that the "phantomisation" of the civil war has been consciously produced within the Sempere family. Shortly after, Daniel's father recounts to him that before her death from cholera just after the end of the war, his mother made him promise he would never tell Daniel about the war, nor let him remember its events (*La sombra*: 51 [*Shadow*: 35]). In the light of the theory of trans-generational haunting, Daniel's father is not, then, what Abraham and Torok would term a "cryptophore" (1971: 158). Rather, the recent past has been '"phantomized" […] because it was unspeakable in words, because it had to be wrapped in silence' (Abraham 1975a: 188-89). The silencing of the memory of the war reflects it as 'a subject of shame and prohibition' (Davis 2005: 378). Although the silence around the memory of the war links to a familial prohibition, it has an inferred political dimension. Daniel's parents are not denoted as politically Republican. But Daniel's description of his father — 'luciendo aquella misma cara de derrota y anhelo' (*La sombra*: 48) ['wearing his usual expression of anxiety and defeat' (*Shadow*: 32)] — implicitly imbricates him with the Republican legacy.

The Semperes' familial silence about the memory of the civil war in the early post-war period also pertains to the Spanish Transition. As set out in the Introduction, the inter-generational silence about the memory of the war during the time of Franco effectively reverberated in democracy, where, by different means, the grounds were laid for its further 'phantomisation'. However, *La sombra del viento* also represents the dispelling of the Semperes' familial 'phantomisation' of the memory of the civil war. A little later, Daniel's father breaks his silence by responding to the questions Daniel asks him about the war (*La sombra*: 51 [*Shadow*: 35]). The familial discourse symbolises the alteration of the silent presence of the traumatic past into speech (Rand 1994: 22). *La sombra del viento* testifies to the emergence of an historical trauma a generation later. The novel illustrates, then, the onset of mourning for Spain's recent past amongst contemporary generations. Through the trans-generational transmission of memories, *La sombra del viento* represents the emergence of private memories of the civil war and Francoist past into the public realm from around 1998.

Although Julián's hidden past links to the absent memory of the civil war,

Daniel discovers *La sombra del viento* in early summer, 1945. Daniel's quest to establish Julián's identity thus begins six years after Franco declared that the war was over on 1 April 1939 (Graham 2002: 425). The novel's construction of memory remembers the continuation of the civil war in the wake of the military conflict (425). The wholesale punishment of the defeated Republican side was particularly intense in the 1940s when there were '"cleansing executions" (Graham 2004: 320). At the same time, 'hundreds of thousands of men, women and children' were sent to 'prisons, reformatories, concentration camps and forced labor battalions' in order to be "re-educated" (321). By these means, the Franco regime sought to reconstruct the political and social hierarchies 'that had been challenged in Spain during the 1930s' (321). The methods of punishment also permeated 'the very organization of everyday life', as the Republican defeated were barred from 'the law, employment, education and culture' (321).

Daniel's discovery of Julián's novel — his remaining cultural trace — in 1945 puts the memory of the Spanish Civil War into a European context. Instead of the official end of the civil war the search for Julián's memory follows that of the Second World War in Europe: 8 May 1945. Ruiz Zafón's novel thus draws a parallel between the memories of the Spanish Civil War and the Second World War. *La sombra del viento* reflects the international facet of Spain's resurgence of memory from around 1998. As set out in the Introduction, the Spanish "memory boom" links to a pan-European "memory boom" which occurred after 1989 following the fall of the Eastern bloc (Stone 2014: 270). The novel inscribes the memory of the Spanish Civil War as part of that phenomenon and thus contributes to a re-shaping of Spain's post-war consciousness in a European context.

The absence of Julián's past in Daniel's present echoes the trans-generational effects of Franco's 'distorted historical memory' of the civil war (Preston 1995: 34). As we saw in the Introduction, the portrayal of the war as an imperial victory was linked to the depiction of the Republicans as antithetical to Francoist Spain and to the erosion of their identity. Like many of the victims of the regime's repression, the Republican past was removed from public remembrance. Although, for example, the names of the Nationalist deceased were inscribed on public memorials to commemorate the war dead, those of the Republican side were consistently omitted (Preston 1995: 37).

While the loss of Julián's identity does not have an explicit political aspect, it connects to his physical injuries during the conflagration of his books at the start of the

civil war. We learn: 'todo su cuerpo era una herida en carne viva que supuraba entre las vendas' (*La sombra*: 497) ['his whole body was a raw wound that oozed beneath his bandages' (*Shadow*: 436)]. The description of Julián's burned body corresponds to that of Barcelona in the war: 'como una herida que late adormecida' ['like a wound that throbs dully'] which culminated in an 'infierno' (*La sombra*: 506) ['inferno' (*Shadow*: 443)]. Julián's resulting disfigurement — his face becomes 'una máscara de piel negra y cicatrizada' (*La sombra*: 71) ['a mask of black scarred skin' (*Shadow*: 54-55)], which leaves him unrecognizable to Daniel — signals the erasure of Republican memory in Daniel's generation.

The erosion of Republican memory in the public sphere is reflected in the concept of the Cementerio de los Libros Olvidados. Despite its trans-generational transmission within the Sempere family, its legacy is bound to its public "phantomisation". En route to the Cemetery-library, Daniel's father impresses on him that its existence must be kept a secret, including from his closest friend: 'lo que vas a ver hoy no se lo puedes contar a nadie. […] Ni a tu amigo Tomás. A nadie.' (*La sombra*: 13 and 15) ['you mustn't tell anyone what you're about to see today,' (...) 'Not even your friend Tomás. No one.' (*Shadow*: 1 and 3)]. Following the theory of trans-generational haunting, the Cementerio de los Libros Olvidados is not a "phantom" that is unconsciously transmitted across the generations, but somewhere withheld from public discussion by dint of its private encasing 'in silence' (Abraham 1975a: 188-89). However, the knowledge of the Cemetery-library is not confined to Daniel's family. Instead of a familial secret, the Cementerio de los Libros Olvidados is one that is communally, culturally held. The library is run by some of Daniel's father's colleagues, 'en el gremio de libreros de viejo' (*La sombra*: 16) ['fellows of the secondhand-booksellers' guild' (*Shadow*: 3)]. Rather than a personal or private traumatic experience, the Cemetery-library concerns, then, a shared and collective history. The library is not common clandestine knowledge — an open or public secret — but one expressly guarded by the second-hand bookselling community.

Internally excluded memories

While its books are not overtly connected to traumatic experiences, the Cementerio de los Libros Olvidados identifies its volumes as both forgotten and deceased. The name of the Cemetery-library suggests its contents are repressed. However, although apparently laid to rest the books are stipulated as suspended.

Daniel's father explains to him:

> Cuando una biblioteca desaparece, cuando una librería cierra sus puertas, cuando un libro se pierde en el olvido, los que conocemos este lugar, los guardianes, nos aseguramos de que llegue aquí. En este lugar, los libros que ya nadie recuerda, los libros que se han perdido en el tiempo, viven para siempre, esperando llegar algún día a las manos de un nuevo lector, de un nuevo espíritu. (*La sombra*: 16-17)
>
> [When a library disappears, or a bookshop closes down, when a book is consigned to oblivion, those of us who know this place, its guardians, make sure that it gets here. In this place, books no longer remembered by anyone, books that are lost in time, lie forever, waiting for the day when they will reach a new reader's hands, a new spirit. (*Shadow*: 3)][61]

The effective secretion of the books in the Cemetery-library until their stories are grasped anew suggests their internal exclusion in post-war Barcelona. Following the theory of trans-generational haunting, the concept of the Cementerio de los Libros Olvidados can be seen to represent what Abraham and Torok would term a "crypt" towards the traumatic past (1971: 159). Instead of a desire that has sought and found 'symbolic fulfilment', the Cemetery-library embodies an already satisfied desire that has been internally conserved in the form of what Abraham and Torok would call "preservative repression" (159). It 'lies buried — equally incapable of rising or of disintegrating' (159). Although the Cemetery-library is a physical place it represents, then, the "crypt" that has been constructed within the psychic space of post-war Barcelona: an enclave that houses a silenced history in the ego of the city, the memory of which has been designated unutterable by the discursive territory around it.

Ruiz Zafón's novel thus shows us that there has been a covert shift in the collective psyche of post-war Barcelona: as explained earlier, the shift forms the basis for the construction of the "crypt", underlying it as such (Abraham and Torok 1975: 141). While the shift has accommodated an idyllic lost memory, something 'experienced with a valued object and yet for some reason unspeakable' (141), it has

[61] I have added the words 'a new spirit' to translate 'de un nuevo espíritu' which has been omitted from the English translation.

also disguised its existence. The Cementerio de los Libros Olvidados thus stands for a stasis of mourning, both internally and outside. Rather than a public monument, the Cemetery-library represents an unacknowledged psychic tomb. *La sombra del viento* is, then, clearly imbricated in the politics of memory. Although the library is not overtly politically linked, it symbolises the public erasure of Republican memories and thus identity during the Franco era. The Cementerio de los Libros Olvidados is not just a repository for books about Republican memories, but all sorts of books that have been forgotten over time, in other words, 'those which are no longer read' (Hutton 2017: 15). However, the library is a 'synecdoche' by means of which Republican memory is brought back to life, that is, through reading and writing (Ryan 2014: 149). At a linguistic level, the Cemetery-library — 'la infinidad de aquella necrópolis' (*La sombra*: 99) ['(this) endless necropolis' (*Shadow*: 74–5)] — recalls that of the cemetery at Montjuïc, 'la ciudad de los muertos, infinita' (*La sombra*: 68) ['the endless city of the dead' (*Shadow*: 51)].[62] The entombment of memory is the obverse side of Franco's construction of a distorted official history of the civil war and the linked eradication of commemoration of Republican losses (Torres 2001: 102). The Cementerio de los Libros Olvidados can thus be read as a safe haven for memory. In spite of their outward forgetting, inside the Cemetery-library the books remain intact. *La sombra del viento* reminds us that when the memories of the Republican past were barred from public remembrance, they survived within the private sphere, albeit shrouded in silence.[63]

The idea of a silenced second-hand cultural space reflects the memory of the civil war and Francoist past as a cultural trauma for Barcelona. As indicated in the Introduction, the Franco regime publicly eroded the languages and cultures of the autonomous regions. In Catalonia, 'the presence of the Catalan culture and language' was erased in the public sphere after 1939 (Dowling 2013: 38). More than 80 per cent of the population who used the language were affected (38).

The Cementerio de los Libros Olvidados not only pertains to the suppression of memory during the Francoist period, but also the Spanish Transition. As set out in the Introduction, the presiding culture of disremembrance of the recent past in the new democracy meant that, as for the thirty-six years of the dictatorship (1939–75), the

[62] See also Byron and Byron 2012: 79 for a gothic reading of the library.
[63] For Ryan, similarly, the Cementerio de los Libros Olvidados is 'a separate territory' that shelters 'a forbidden historical discourse in the very heart of a drastically transformed city, which attests to the persistence of a Republican memory, muted in the public sphere, but maintained by groups and individuals' (2014: 145).

Republican past remained excluded from public consciousness. The idea of dispensing with the memory of the civil war was encapsulated by the notion of the so-called "pacto del olvido". Although instigated in the political sphere, vitally, the decision consciously to forget the recent past proliferated throughout Spanish society (Davis 2005: 866). Transitional Spain, and of course its people, effectively relied on a 'suspension of memory' about the civil war and Francoist past (866).

The conscious forgetting of the memory of the civil war is reflected in Daniel's reburial of *La sombra del viento* in the Cemetery-library when he is sixteen. Daniel's action in 1950 repeats that of Nuria in 1936 (*La sombra*: 93 [*Shadow*: 73]). In the light of the theory of trans-generational haunting, the novel's re-interment symbolises the cultural transmission of the "crypt" to the following generation. Indeed, when the novel is hidden deep inside the Cemetery-library, its concealment amongst the library's other books resembles the construction of a bricked-up space. Daniel disguises the hiding place by 'amurallando la primera fila' (*La sombra*: 94) ['walling in the back row' (*Shadow*: 74)]. The second burial affirms the Cemetery-library as a sanctuary for memory. Daniel observes that it is the best hiding place because: '— Lo que este libro necesita es que lo entierren donde nadie pueda encontrarlo' (*La sombra*: 82) ["What this book needs is to be buried where nobody can find it" (*Shadow*: 64)].[64]

The reclamation of the past in the present

As we saw in the Introduction, except for some cultural narratives which ran counter to it, the "pacto del olvido" remained largely intact for more than twenty years (Davis 2005: 867). But from around 1998 it began to fracture, to decompose in strength. A gradual emergence of recollections steadily became a mushrooming of memories about Spain's recent past. Along with personal memoirs and testimonies, a great volume of cultural works about the war and Francoist repression ensued, including historical analyses, television documentaries, films and novels. Like each of the books in the thesis, Ruiz Zafón's *La sombra del viento* (2001) was part of this cultural production of memory.

[64] D'Humières remarks that Daniel's re-concealment of the book means that 'l'ouvrage sera à la fois absent, c'est-à-dire hors de portée, et présent puisqu'il aura échappé à la destruction, ce qui justifie le nom de *Cimetière* donné a cette bibliothèque: un cimetière étant en effet l'endroit où l'on ressent la présence de l'absence' ['the book will be simultaneously absent, that is to say out of reach, and present since it will have escaped destruction, which justifies the name of *Cemetery* given to this library: a cemetery being indeed the place where one feels the presence of absence'] (2007: 344, italics in original).

The idea of the books in the Cemetery-library being secreted until their stories are grasped by 'las manos de un nuevo lector, de un nuevo espíritu' ['a new reader's hands, a new spirit'] reflects the onset of a new era of memory. While Daniel belongs to the generation that grew up immediately after the war, his drive to detect the identity of Julián Carax reflects the engagement with the recent past by the 'generación de los nietos de los vencidos' ["generation of the grandchildren of the vanquished"] (Rojo 2004: 44, cited in Ferrán 2007: 32). Indeed, Daniel's role as protagonist mirrors the leading part this generation has played in the recuperation of memories. The recovery of Julián's past reflects the exhumations of mass graves, which, as we saw in the Introduction, have been a key feature of the resurgence of memory since around 1998. Daniel does not exhume his own family's past, but the novel's theme of unearthing concealed histories hinges on what Abraham and Torok would term 'the buried speech' (1975: n. 1, p. 140) about the past in the previous generation(s).

The uncovering of Julián's identity in the early post-war period resembles the fracturing of the "pacto del olvido" in Spanish public consciousness from around 1998. Julián's unacknowledged history is signalled as a traumatic memory that continuously returns: 'la historia de Julián Carax y el enigma de su muerte' (*La sombra*: 226) ['the story of Julián Carax and the enigma of his death' (*Shadow*: 193)] is told twelve times in all, either to or by Daniel.

There are various second-hand stories of Julián's past: Clara Barceló tells Daniel the account of Julián Carax given to her by Monsieur Roquefort, her private tutor (*La sombra*: 32-42 [*Shadow*: 18-27]), while Isaac Monfort, the keeper of the Cementerio de los Libros Olvidados relates the story he was told by the publisher Cabestany (*La sombra*: 84-93 [*Shadow*: 66-73]). Daniel tells the story of Julián's disappearance and death to Beatriz Aguilar (Bea) who is the same generation as Daniel (*La sombra*: 214 [*Shadow*: 183]), to Fermín Romero de Torres, who was tortured by Fumero and now works in the Sempere family bookshop (*La sombra*: 226 [*Shadow*: 193]) and to the bookseller Gustavo Barceló, who is Clara Barceló's father (*La sombra*: 348-49 [*Shadow*: 303]). Julián is also recalled by people who knew him directly: Doña Aurora, the caretaker of the apartment building where Julián grew up (*La sombra*: 135-42 [*Shadow*: 112-18]); Señor Molins, the building manager (*La sombra*: 152-57 [*Shadow*: 127-32]); Nuria Monfort, Julián's lover (*La sombra*: 197-206 [*Shadow*: 168-76]); Father Fernando Ramos, Julián's former schoolfriend (*La sombra*: 244-58 [*Shadow*:

209-22]) and Jacinta, Penélope's governess and maid (*La sombra*: 310-33 [*Shadow*: 267-90]).

Although Daniel is charged with the detection of Julián's identity his role is, then, far from omniscient. As D'Humières observes, '[I]l laisse la place, à plusieurs reprises, à d'autres narrateurs secondaires qui insèrent leurs récits à l'intérieur du sien, mêlant le passé y le présent et créant de la sorte une multiplicité de points de vue' ['(H)e cedes his place, in several replays, to other secondary storytellers who insert their accounts inside his, mingling the past and the present and creating in that way a multiplicity of viewpoints'] (2007: 343). The numerous accounts of Julián's history act as fictional testimonies to its — and thus his — existence. Each telling of the story bears witness to his apparent disappearance and death. Similar to Anne Michaels' novel *Fugitive Pieces* (1997) about the haunting effects of the Holocaust, which, as Nicola King has observed, is built 'around different layers or levels of witnessing' (Whitehead 2004: 8), *La sombra del viento* testifies to the memories of a traumatic past.[65]

Following Freud's theory of the "compulsion to repeat", the various narrations represent iterative attempts to master the trauma of the apparent disappearance and death of Julián Carax and thereby integrate its memory (1920: 35). Each account represents 'the return of the repressed' (20). Ruiz Zafón's novel shows how the paths of compulsive-repetition and memory are intertwined: the recurring memories of Julián Carax represent confrontations with the reflections of a previously 'forgotten past' (19). The repetition of the story testifies to the fact that the memory remains unassimilated. By bringing it to consciousness, Ruiz Zafón's novel is, then, trying to manage the traumatic memory of Julián Carax and thus Spain's civil war and Francoist past.

The belated emergence of Julián's memory signals a temporal disruption as in Freud's theory of "*Nachträglichkeit*". But the acts of memory follow Daniel's inquiries. Although Julián is recalled by people who knew him directly, such as Doña Aurora, the caretaker of the apartment building where he grew up, the anamnesis occurs a generation later. *La sombra del viento* represents the memory of the civil war and Francoist repression as a traumatic experience. But rather than an overwhelming occurrence, which could not be psychically registered at the time that it actually

[65] See King 1999: 102–03. As Anne Whitehead summarises, while Jakob, who was 'a child in hiding during the war', is haunted by a past that he did not wholly witness, the second-generation Canadian Ben 'is haunted by the unspoken history of his parents which defines his own identity' (2004: 53).

happened, the belated return of the apparently forgotten history derives from its designation as unmentionable in the generation(s) before. In the light of the theory of trans-generational haunting, Daniel's uncovering of Julián's history equates to the exposition of its "phantomisation" — the putting of the silenced memories into speech. Instead of a process of psychoanalysis, as Abraham and Torok would suggest, the unwrapping of the silence occurs by means of a collective, inter-generational dialogue about Julián Carax's past. The returning of Julián's memory through manifold narratives represents a collective recovery of history. Ruiz Zafón's novel represents, then, the social construction of a cultural memory of the civil war and Francoist past. Julián is remembered by a collection of people living and working in post-war Barcelona, several of whom, for example, the bookseller Gustavo Barceló and Nuria Monfort, who works for the publisher Cabestany, are connected to books and reading.

The collective returning of memory is reflected in the fact that Daniel not only recovers the memory of Julián Carax but also those of the various other characters around him, including, for example, Sophie Carax and her husband the hatter, the Aldaya family, Nuria Monfort and Miquel Moliner. When Isaac, Nuria's father, gives Daniel the posthumous letter that Nuria has left for him, Isaac observes: —Es la historia que usted buscaba, Daniel. La historia de una mujer que nunca conocí, aunque llevara mi nombre y mi sangre. Ahora le pertenece a usted. (*La sombra*: 424) ['It's the story you were looking for, Daniel. The story of a woman I never knew, even though she bore my name and my blood. Now it belongs to you' (*Shadow*: 369)].

Jo Labanyi has argued that trauma theory might detract from political explanations about the repression of memories in Spain (2007: 109 and 2009: 24). Although the civil war doubtless produced 'genuine trauma victims in the sense [...] that the term has acquired in relation to Holocaust survivors', Labanyi claims that in the testimonies which have emerged in the Spanish public sphere since the late 1990s, there is 'no evidence of any traumatic blocking of memory' (2007: 109). Rather, 'the eyewitnesses appear to have perfect recall', although this is characterised by 'hesitation about whether or not to talk about the repression' along with 'a delay of around sixty years in bringing these memories into the public domain' (109).

La sombra del viento does, however, suggest the memory of the civil war and Francoist repression as a traumatic event. In several ways, Ruiz Zafón's novel exemplifies the genre which Anne Whitehead has called 'trauma fiction' (2004: 3). As Whitehead states, the term constitutes a paradox since it implies the narration in fiction

of an inherently unnarratable event or experience (3). However, she argues that the growth of 'trauma theory' has brought novelists 'new ways of conceptualising trauma […] and shifted attention away from the question of what is remembered of the past to how and why it is remembered' (3). 'Trauma fiction' thus reflects the work of contemporary novelists who have sought 'to represent or make visible specific historical instances of trauma' (3).

Fiction that seeks to represent the effects of trauma often finds it can only attempt to do so by trying to mimic its 'forms and symptoms', Whitehead points out (3). Thus, she argues, 'trauma fiction' depends on 'the intensification of conventional narrative modes and methods' and is typified by key stylistic features, notably, 'intertextuality, repetition and a dispersed or fragmented narrative voice' (84). All three of these features occur in *La sombra del viento*. Intertextual references abound in the novel: it is structured as numerous stories within stories and steeped in literary and cultural references. For example, as various critics have noted, the Cementerio de los Libros Olvidados recalls other literary libraries, including Borges's *La Biblioteca de Babel* [*The Library of Babel*] and Eco's *Il nome della rosa* [*The Name of the Rose*] (Ellis 2006: 842, D'Humières 2007: 340–43, 350).[66] Ruiz Zafón's text is laced with repetition through the constant telling of Julián's memory and the replication of his past in the present of Daniel. As we have seen, Carax's novel is buried twice in the Cemetery-library. Phrases are also repeated at the level of character and plot. For example, the instruction not to speak of the Cemetery-library is given twice to Daniel by his father and repeated to little Julián by Daniel. A 'dispersed or fragmented narrative voice' resonates in the numerous secondary storytellers and the novel's intermingling of genres. Ruiz Zafón's blend of detective fiction, Gothic fiction, historical fiction, romance novel, the *folletín* [newspaper serial] and the *Bildungsroman* changes and dissipates the register of the narrative voice.

Emphatically, then, *La sombra del viento* depicts the memory of the civil war as

[66] D'Humières observes that Ruiz Zafón's text 'fonctionne […] à l'inverse de la nouvelle de Borges ou du roman d'Eco'['functions (…) conversely to Borges's short story or Eco's novel'] (2007: 342). Whereas in Borges's and Eco's stories the plot centres on 'la recherché d'un *livre* censé donner un sens au monde qui gravite autour de lui' ['the search for a supposed *book* to give a meaning to the world which revolves around it'], in *La sombra del viento*, '[l]e livre n'est que le point de départ d'une série de péripéties qui vont tendre vers la découverte de l'identité de son *auteur* et de la vérité des personnages qui gravitent autour de lui' ['(t)he book is only the departure point for a succession of episodes which go towards the discovery of the identity of its *author* and the truth of the characters which revolve round him'] (342, italics in original).

a traumatic event. But as well as repetition the novel represents a working through of Spain's traumatic past in the following generation. For example, aspects of Julián and Penelope's past recur in the relationship between Bea and Daniel. The day after Daniel takes Bea to the Cemetery-library (*La sombra*: 214 [*Shadow*: 183]), her brother, Tomás, recounts:

> — […] Anoche mi hermana Bea llegó a las tantas. Mi padre la estaba esperando despierto y algo tocado, como siempre. Ella se negó a decir de dónde venía ni con quién había estado y mi padre se puso hecho un furia. (*La sombra*: 229)
>
> [(…) Last night my sister, Bea, arrived home very late. My father was waiting up for her, a bit worked up as usual. She refused to say where she'd been or who she'd been with, and my father flew into a rage. (*Shadow*: 195-96)]

Subsequently, we learn, 'Bea se ha encerrado en su cuarto y no ha salido en todo el día' (*La sombra*: 229) ['Bea locked herself up in her room, and she hasn't come out all day' (*Shadow*: 195-96)]. Bea's retreat recalls how Penélope 'se había encerrado con llave' ['locked her door'] in the face of don Ricardo's anger a generation earlier (*La sombra*: 443 [*Shadow*: 387]). Similarly, Bea and Daniel's secret liaison in the Aldaya mansion (*La sombra*: 290 [*Shadow*: 250]) echoes those between Penélope and Julián (*La sombra*: 442 [*Shadow*: 386]). But unlike Penélope when Bea becomes pregnant she is not imprisoned by her father (*La sombra*: 532 [*Shadow*: 467]). Moreover, whereas Penélope and her baby die, Bea and her son Julián survive. In this sense, the novel marks the onset of mourning a generation later.

As we saw earlier, the reclamation of Julián's past is indicated as necessary to Daniel's present. Indeed, when Julián's story finally emerges, Daniel reflects: 'Aquélla era mi historia. Nuestra historia. En los pasos perdidos de Carax reconocía ahora los míos, irrecuperables ya' (*La sombra*: 529) ['That was my story. Our story. In Carax's lost footsteps, I now recognised my own, irretrievable' (*Shadow*: 465)]. The ironic historical reference reiterates the link between Ruiz Zafón's novel and the Republican legacy. In Francoist Spain 'Republican children […] were repeatedly told that they were "irrecuperable"' (Graham 2004: 326). Daniel's recognition of his history effectively reverses the status of Carax's novel as 'el libro que me iba a adoptar a mí' ['the book that was going to adopt me']. Instead of the past claiming Daniel he now realises it as

his own. *La sombra del viento* underscores that the history and memory of the past must be joined to the present, rather than set — or read — apart from it. The novel thus endeavours to rectify the consequences of the Transition's rupture with Spain's recent past embodied by the "pacto del olvido". But Ruiz Zafón also acknowledges the impossibility of retrieving the past as it actually was. The characterisation of both Daniel's history, and that of Julián, as 'irrecuperables ya' ['irretrievable'] recognizes that the story is based on the memory of the events rather than on their reality. Through the *mise en abyme* the novel reflects itself as a fictional representation of a past that can never be truly or fully recovered.

But the idea of Julián's story as the same as that of Daniel also suggests a merging of self and other, and accordingly identities. The fusion of the stories recalls Robert Richmond Ellis's criticism that *La sombra del viento* is based on such a conflation, which occurs in 'the dynamics of reading and writing' that take place in 'father-son relationships' and especially the relationship between Julián and Daniel (2006: 849-851). The notion of Julián's story as Daniel's also suggests an over-identification with Julián's history. Daniel's reading is redolent of the 'appropriation and incorporation' by the following generations, which Marianne Hirsch cautions against in the context of what she terms "postmemory" (2001: 221). Like Abraham and Torok's notion of trans-generational haunting, "postmemory" conceptualises trauma as a form of inherited memory, so something that has been passed from one generation to the next. But whereas Abraham and Torok are interested in the trans-generational transmission of the silenced traumatic past, Hirsch focuses on the mediated access to that past in the generations after (221).

In the epilogue we learn that Daniel has written the story of his search to discover Julián's identity (*La sombra*: 563 [*Shadow*: 501]). The idea of recovering the memory of the civil war and post-war repression by means of writing reflects historical reality. As indicated in the Introduction, like all of the authors of the novels in the thesis, Carlos Ruiz Zafón did not experience the civil war directly. Rather, Ruiz Zafón, who was born in 1964, grew up under Francoism in the generations after.

However, although the trans-generational "phantom" has been unwrapped — the memory of Julián Carax recovered — in the final scene the text tells us it has not reached a point of closure. In an untitled coda an unnamed Daniel takes his ten-year-old son Julián to the Cementerio de los Libros Olvidados (*La sombra*: 569 [*Shadow*: 506]). Thus, the novel implies the story's further inheritance by the following generation.

However, while moving us temporally forwards, the final scene also takes us back to the past. The linear-circular narrative returns us to the beginning of the novel. Although it happens a generation later, Daniel and little Julián's visit to the Cemetery-library virtually repeats that of Daniel and his father in 1945. As at that time, they walk through 'una Barcelona atrapada bajo cielos de ceniza' (*La sombra*: 569) ['a Barcelona trapped beneath ashen skies' (*Shadow*: 506)]. Daniel also repeats the instruction that his father gave to him with regard to the Cemetery-library: 'lo que vas a ver hoy no se lo puedes contar a nadie. A nadie' (*La sombra*: 569) ['you mustn't tell anyone what you're about to see today. No one' (*Shadow*: 506)]. Following the theory of trans-generational haunting, the Cementerio de los Libros Olvidados is, then, still bound to its public "phantomisation". The text tells us that the knowledge of the Cemetery-library remains an external subject of silence. Ruiz Zafón's novel thus accords with historical reality. As we saw in the Introduction, the longevity of the Franco dictatorship — thirty-six years, from 1939 to 1975 — meant that '[t]wo new generations were […] born during its time span' (Labanyi 2007: 99). As part of the second generation to grow up in the dictatorship era, Julián has inherited a climate of silence about the civil war past.

But Julián's introduction to the Cemetery-library also indicates a further recovery of memory. Implicitly, the novel reprises the returning of a forgotten narrative and the exposition of its memory a generation later through the alteration of the silenced past into speech. *La sombra del viento* reflects, but also advocates, then, a future reading of the burial of memory of the civil war and post-war period, precisely in the coming generations.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have argued that the belated return of the traumatic memory of the novelist Julián Carax in the life of the young Daniel Sempere represents the concept of trans-generational haunting. Although the silence around the traumatic past relates to Julián's private history, I have shown how it also has a political aspect. The disappearance and supposed death of Julián, together with his corpus of writing, is a metonym for the distortion and suppression of the memory of the civil war in later generations. I have demonstrated that the burial of Julián's traumatic memory reflects the public erasure of Republican memories of the war and their prohibition in speech. I have argued that Daniel's need to uncover the truth about Julián's identity indicates him as a haunted subject. Ruiz Zafón's novel casts light both on the inter-generational

silence under Francoism and the suspension of memory of the civil war and post-war era during the Spanish Transition. While the gradual recovery of the absent memory of Julián to language pertains to the formation of Daniel's identity, I have emphasized that it also has a collective character. The unearthing of Julián's history symbolises the trans-generational transmission of memories and the emergence of private memories of the civil war in the public realm since around 1998. *La sombra del viento* represents the construction of a collective cultural memory of the war and Francoist past and its imbrication in pan-European memory debates.

Chapter Two

Melancholia and the telling of history in *Soldados de Salamina* [*Soldiers of Salamis*] (2001) by Javier Cercas

Introduction

The previous chapter investigated the notion of the memory of the civil war and Francoist past as an unmourned traumatic wound which was transmitted to the following generations. Returning to the idea of a haunting past, this chapter explores contemporary critical theories of mourning and melancholia in connection with the politics of memory of the Spanish Transition. Alongside Freudian theory, I set out Abraham and Torok's reading of melancholy as a fantasy of incorporation linked to unacknowledged loss. I go on to explore the contemporary rehabilitation of melancholia, but rather than welcoming this trend, following Judith Butler, I argue that melancholy may indicate a social prohibition which needs addressing at its roots. I link my argument to Paul Gilroy's concept of "postcolonial melancholia" and Teresa Vilarós's diagnosis of the Transition as a diseased cultural order, which was shot through with the repressed memories of the civil war and Francoist past.

In this intellectual and theoretical context I turn to the novel *Soldados de Salamina* [*Soldiers of Salamis*] (2001) by Javier Cercas in order to illuminate its melancholic affect. I argue that the narrator is in melancholy rather than mourning and that his unacknowledged past symbolises the culture of disremembrance of the memory of the civil war and Francoist past that characterised the Spanish Transition. I suggest the narrator's individual memory of the war derives from and represents the collective disremembrance of recent history. His biographical account of the Falangist Rafael Sánchez Mazas reproduces, I argue, the Transition's public memory of the war. Cercas's novel thus shows how the public disremembrance of memory filtered into the private sphere. At the same time, the kitsch aestheticization of the account highlights the existence of a Francoist discourse in post-Transitional Spain.

I explore how the narrator's meeting with the Republican veteran Miralles illustrates the trans-generational transmission of memories and links Spain's post-war consciousness to pan-European memory debates. Through the movement of

melancholia into mourning, Cercas's novel symbolises, I demonstrate, the resurgence of private memories of the civil war in the public realm since around 1998.

Melancholia keeps the past internally alive

In 'Mourning and Melancholia' Freud sets out that mourning is a deeply painful and debilitating reaction to the death of a loved person or 'the loss of some abstraction', for example, 'one's country, liberty, an ideal' (1917: 243-44). Although a state of mourning is to be expected and ultimately healthy to allow the subject to assimilate their loss — interfering with the process would be 'useless or even harmful', Freud remarks (244) — it involves a considerable period of sadness and dejection since the disengagement from the object is a painstakingly slow and laborious process (245). The attachment to the loved object can be such that even when '[r]eality-testing' shows it no longer to exist in relation to the mourner, she or he resists turning away from his or her prior relationship to it (244-45). But mourning eventually leads to the object's relinquishment: the acceptance of 'reality gains the day' as Freud expresses it, thus laying the past to rest and allowing new object-relationships to occur (244-45).

The allied condition of melancholia is also characterised by a profound despondency, a loss of interest in external events and 'the capacity to love', along with 'inhibition of all activity' (244). But while mourning involves gradually moving away from loss, melancholia is about staying inwardly connected to the object — the person or abstraction — despite its/their loss. Melancholia thus effectively leaves us holding on to loss in life. Accordingly, we are continually linked to, or linking with, the past within the present. As Ofelia Ferrán specifies, in melancholia, we cling to 'a lost object, or the ideal […] [it] represented' and do not manage to let it go (2007: 172). Thus, we do not 'adjust to a new reality' where we accept 'that object […] as lost, as part of the past' (172).

In contrast to mourning Freud initially viewed melancholia as a pathological response to loss (1917: 243). Whereas mourning is clearly joined to the death of someone or something loved, melancholia may result from everyday life experiences, 'situations of being slighted, neglected or disappointed' (251). Melancholy also innately links to trauma: just as '[t]rauma shatters the self, […] trauma usually also blocks mourning' (Schwab 2006: 99). As discussed in Chapter One on Ruiz Zafón's *La sombra del viento*, a trauma is a psychical wound, which may be linked to a physical one. A traumatic experience bypasses the conscious mind and becomes repressed in the

unconscious, which means it is kept from vocalisation and discourse. Since mourning cannot operate to heal the traumatic wound melancholia sets in. In lieu of salving and thus potentially closing the injury, melancholia leaves it gaping, overtly weeping as it were, prone interminably to infection. 'The complex of melancholia' behaves, as Freud describes it, 'like an open wound […] emptying the ego until it is totally impoverished' (1917: 253). Insomnia frequently accompanies the condition, as it easily resists 'the ego's wish to sleep' (253).

Rather than a letting go of the lost love-object, melancholia is founded on its incorporation within the self. The wounded state of melancholia thus corresponds to 'a refusal or inability to mourn' (Davis 2007: 134). Whereas in mourning the individual is conscious of their loss, in melancholia 'the object-loss […] is withdrawn from consciousness' (Freud 1917: 245). The unconscious retention of the object means that it continues to exist in the psyche, but remains obscured, often profoundly (245). Even when a person recognises their loss — when, for example, he or she is aware that it links to a particular death — this may be, Freud stipulates, 'only in the sense that he knows *whom* he has lost but not *what* he has lost in him' (245, italics in original). Since the subject is not aware of the true nature of his or her loss, he or she cannot express or define it, to him or herself, or to others. In melancholia, what or how the subject consciously perceives their loss is therefore 'not the essential part of it' (257, cited in Davis 2007: 133).

The internalisation of the object is marked and complicated by a distinct ambivalence, which characterised the earlier object-relationship (Freud 1917: 251). Alongside the object, the ambivalence is never laid to rest. As Greg Forter elaborates, melancholia thus consists of an unabated, but always-ambivalent interior attachment to (the loss of) the object (2003: 134). In sum, melancholy becomes a 'mourning crippled by a hostility toward what one has lost' (134). Ambivalence also turns '[n]ormal mourning' into 'pathological mourning', where the object-loss is consciously recognised but its assimilation is not brought to any conclusion (Freud 1917: 250-51). Hence, the person or group becomes partly constituted by mourning (Khanna 2003: 21-22).

As well as ambivalence about the object-loss — which Freud considers 'at least as much a factor as literal loss' (Davis 2007: 132) — melancholia has two other defining features, which distinguish it from mourning: 'narcissistic identification' with the former love-object (248-49) and a high level of self-beratement. The identification

with the object gives rise to its incorporation and an extraordinary lowering of self-regard, which manifests itself as 'self-reproaches and self-revilings' (244, 246). These form part of the obscuration of the loss: while apparently aimed at the subject him or herself, in spite of outward appearances, their 'unconscious target' is at root the internalized lost love-object (Forter 2003: 134).

The melancholic's self-reproaches link to the super-ego. When the object-relationship breaks in some way, instead of being directed elsewhere, the libido that was attached to the object is 'withdrawn into the ego' and establishes 'an *identification* of the ego with the abandoned object' (1917: 249, italics in original). Consequently, what Freud terms 'the shadow of the object' is cast over 'the ego', which is henceforth 'judged' as if it were 'the forsaken object' (249). The 'object-loss' is made into 'ego-loss' — its diminution, in other words — and 'the conflict between the ego and the loved person' becomes a rift between the ego's 'critical activity […] and the ego as altered by identification' (249). The criticism comes from the "ego ideal" or "super-ego", the ego's higher 'grade', which is 'less firmly connected with consciousness' (1923: 28). The ego reflects the criticism as a 'sense of guilt', which 'is the perception in the ego answering to this criticism' (53). Although 'the tension between the ego and the ego ideal' produces a 'normal, conscious sense of guilt', which is, 'conscience', in melancholia such guilt becomes excessively high (50-51). In response to the ego's identification with the lost object of love and attendant 'ego-loss', in its determination to defend the ego ideal as such, the super-ego effectively turns on the ego and remorselessly attacks it 'with merciless violence' (53). Indeed, the super-ego's wrath can be such that it drives the ego 'into death', in other words, the subject to a suicidal end (53).

To try and protect itself from the remonstrative super-ego, the ego sometimes turns its melancholia into mania (53). The frenetic mental and physical activity of mania apparently staunches the 'open wound' by as it were rapidly administering psychic bandaging. As the virtual antithesis of melancholic depression, a manic affect appears to embody its end (1917: 253-54). At root, however, mania represents melancholia in another guise. Rather than being brought to consciousness as in mourning, in mania the subject stays unconscious of their loss (254). Hence, once the manic burst has been exhausted, the psyche recourses to its underlying melancholia (253).

The rehabilitation of melancholia

As we have seen, Freud initially theorised mourning as a process that leads to completely letting the object go. But in 'The Ego and the Id' he suggested the 'identification' which characterises melancholia leaves a residue in the ego (1923: 28-29). Thus, the ego is constituted from the amalgamated deposits of unfinished identifications with former love-objects and 'contains the history of those object-choices' (29). The process of identification is therefore intrinsic to the development of the ego per se: in other words, part of the construction of our identity (28). Through its identification with lost objects of love, Freud argued that the ego aims to further its relationship to the id (the self), albeit at the cost of largely submitting to the id's experiences (30). In taking the lost object into itself and assuming its features, the ego seeks to repair the id's loss, by effectively saying to the id: "Look, you can love me too — I am so like the object" (30).

As Judith Butler points out, Freud's development of the idea of 'melancholic identification' reversed his view of the resolution of mourning (1997: 134). Moreover, melancholia therefore necessarily precedes the process of mourning: identification becomes 'a *prerequisite* for letting the object go' (134, italics in original). Mourning and melancholia consequently overlap: mourning cannot ensue without a prior melancholia and at some level a state of mourning will always have a melancholic residue. Butler suggests 'melancholic identification' permits the loss of the object in the external world 'precisely because it provides a way to *preserve* the object as part of the ego' (134, italics in original). The lost object — the person or abstraction like 'one's country, liberty, an ideal' (Freud 1917: 243-44) — is held onto 'to avert the loss as a complete loss' (134). Melancholy thus equates to the psychic preservation of loss: in internalizing the object, the subject effectively refuses its external letting go (134).

As Greg Forter discusses, in the 1990s some scholars began to advocate melancholia as a political response to historical loss precisely because it does not reach a conclusion or resolution (2003: 137). This, they argued, made melancholia more truly representative of grief (137). The scholars who champion melancholia include Philip Novak, in connection with 'an antiracist politics', Michael Moon, with regard to gay men and women, and José Muñoz, who, for Forter,

> [S]ynthesises the kinds of arguments made by Moon and Novak, suggesting that "for blacks and queers […] melancholia [is] not a pathology or a self-absorbed

> mood that inhibits activism, but […] a mechanism that helps us (re)construct identity and take our dead to the various battles we must wage in their names." (Muñoz 1997: 355-56, cited in Forter 2003: 137)

The political defence of melancholia was construed as an appropriate reaction for distinctive, marginalised cultures because it stops 'specific experiences of loss' from going unrecognised, effectively being erased within a kind of 'universal pattern of mourning' that elides 'the particularities of lived experience' and 'often […] delegitimate[s] continued attachment to what a dominant culture deems unimportant or pernicious' (Forter 2003: 138).

Writing in the context of postcolonialism, for example, Ranjana Khanna stresses 'the open-endedness of melancholia, the remainder of the lost object that will continue to haunt' (Linhard 2007: 405). Khanna argues that trying to expunge the remainder would amount to 'an impossible and unethical assimilation of otherness': not only 'a denial of loss', but also 'of an engagement with the damage brought about by that loss' (2003: 24). The 'inaccessible remainder' is, then, 'the kernel of melancholia', the element that remains 'unknown, inassimilable, interruptive, and present' (24). Thus, Khanna suggests '[h]aunting constitutes the *work of melancholia*', which in contrast to mourning maintains 'a critical relation to the lost and to the buried' (25, italics in original). In manifesting loss, melancholia 'calls upon the inassimilable remainder' (25, cited in Linhard 2007: 416). It does not, then, 'merely call for inclusion, assimilation, reparation or retribution', but rather 'a response to the critical work of incorporation, and the ethical demand that such incorporation makes on the future' (25, cited in Linhard 2007: 416-17).

The notion of melancholy as a productive political mechanism is, however, laden with difficulties. Forter emphasizes that celebrants of melancholia consider it to be the only way of faithfully preserving the past link with the object, because they equate mourning with '*forgetting* or ceasing to care' about it (2003: 138, italics in original). But this misinterprets the unconscious nature of melancholia which obfuscates the object-loss: as we saw earlier, the melancholic subject cannot recollect 'the lost object because she or he does not even know what she or he has lost' (138). This partly occurs because 'unconscious incorporation' blurs the boundaries between the self and the object as other, which impedes the other from becoming 'an object of memory or consciousness' (138, italics in original).

I would also emphasize that the unconscious attachment to the object renders it inextricable from its loss. Slavoj Žižek has argued that melancholia occurs when the subject conflates the "loss" of an object with its constitutive "lack" in relation to the Lacanian Symbolic Order (2001: 143). For him, the 'rehabilitation of melancholy' obfuscates the fact that the object is always lacking from the outset (143). In confusing lack with loss a melancholic subject couples himself or herself to the loss, which always already existed in the relationship to the object prior to its loss (143). The subject therefore possesses the object 'in its very loss' (143).[67] However, as Ranjana Khanna points out, while Žižek's view of melancholia may pertain in certain instances — when, for example, someone seems to mourn endlessly their 'lost past, lost culture, or some other loss that becomes constitutive of conceiving oneself as belonging to a melancholic group' — it does not universally apply (2003: n. 36, p. 277). Following Khanna, I would agree that although Žižek's argument is important, it is also problematic. In over-emphasizing the melancholic subject's interpretation of "lack" as "loss", Žižek takes insufficient account of — evacuates in a sense — the reality of historical losses, such as the death or political disappearance of a loved person, the destruction of a culture or a language. As we have seen, melancholia is intrinsic to the mourning process: an essential early phase in relinquishing the object.

Forter points out that melancholia is also an inherently flawed response to political losses because of its '*affect*' (139, italics in original). The ambivalent nature of the identification with the lost object produces a bleak and debilitating mental outlook linked to internalised anger (139). Thus, championing melancholia means 'encouraging […] [the] collective cultivation' of a disengaged, self-destructive rage, which is an unsound basis for political solidarity (139). Mobilising melancholia for political purposes while omitting its profoundly dark nature — '*numbed disconnection and a self-loathing whose logical conclusion is suicide'* — disregards the true cost of keeping a loss barred from consciousness, at both a personal and a political level (139, italics in original).

The rehabilitation of melancholia is misconstrued because mourning does not mean forgetting the object or the subject's previous link to it (138). As explained earlier, since melancholic identification is intrinsic to the onset of mourning — precisely the place from which it proceeds — the process of mourning is inseparable

[67] See also Forter 2003: n. 4, p. 166 on Žižek's sceptical view of the rise of melancholia.

from a residual identification with the object (Butler 1997: 134). But whereas melancholia merges the past loss with the present psyche, mourning 'enables remembering' by way of psychic separation (Forter 2003: 138). As Gregg Horowitz stipulates,

> The mourner decathects the psychic traces of the lost object not to forget them, but to detach them from the […] object and thus *render them memorable* for the very first time. In this way, grieving preserves the intimacy with the lost object despite its being lost to us. The loss always shadows, but it does not swallow, the mourner's love. The lost object is permitted to go its way […] [and] the decathected memory traces theirs. (2001: 153, cited in Forter 2003: 138, italics added)

Whereas melancholia hampers conscious recall of the object, because the loss remains unconscious, mourning is about creating — and thus helping to articulate — object-memories (Forter 2003: 139). Hence, for the object-loss truly to be recognised, melancholia must become — move into, we might say — a state of mourning. Importantly, the recognition of memories also has a collective dimension. As Forter puts it, '[t]he political corollary of this is that it is only once we can consciously articulate, as fully as possible' what, for example, 'racism or homophobia or sexism has destroyed that we can build a collective memory of it and seek to do battle in its name' (139).

Incorporation in place of introjection

I will explore the links between melancholia and collective memory in greater depth shortly. First, however, I wish to set out Nicolas Abraham and Maria Torok's critique and development of Freud's essay 'Mourning and Melancholia'. Abraham and Torok suggest that whereas mourning is like the 'process' of introjection, melancholia is a narcissistic 'fantasy' of incorporation, which is mobilised by the ego to resist 'topographical change' to the psyche following a loss (1972: 125). The psychic incorporation of the loss is directly related to the inability to articulate it in language. Incorporation involves the internalisation of the lost love-object via fantasies of 'possessing, expelling or alternately acquiring, keeping, losing it' signalling, in turn, 'possession' and 'feigned dispossession' (126). Such fantasies simulate 'profound

psychic transformation' by magic means: 'by implementing literally something that has only figurative meaning' (126). That is to say, to avoid "swallowing" a loss, 'we fantasize swallowing (or having swallowed) that which has been lost as if it were some kind of thing' (126).

A fantasy of incorporation is accomplished in two interlinked ways: "demetaphorization" (comprehending literally what has been figuratively expressed) and "objectivation" (making out that the suffering does not pertain to an injury to the subject but is instead a loss which the love-object has endured) (126-27).[68] Thus, incorporation produces a 'magical "cure" for loss — a form of instant healing, as it were — which 'exempts the subject from the painful process of [psychic] reorganization' (127). Whereas introjection recognises loss in language, and accordingly enables its mourning, incorporation denotes, then, a refusal to mourn (127). As Abraham and Torok express it,

> Incorporation is the refusal to reclaim as our own the part of ourselves that we placed in what we lost […] the refusal to acknowledge the full import of the loss, a loss that, if recognized as such, would effectively transform us. (127)

In short, 'incorporation is the refusal to introject loss' (127). The fantastical denial of the loss 'reveals a gap within the psyche', a kind of psychic blank, in other words: 'it points to something that is missing just where introjection should have occurred' (127).

In refusing the loss in fantasy incorporation inhibits its expression in language. The early model for introjection is the filling of the empty infant mouth with words in lieu of maternal food (128). Language substitutes for the maternal love-object by making it present: in other words, figuring its absence (128). Introjection thus remedies 'the wants of the original oral vacancy' by turning them into 'verbal relationships with the speaking community at large' (128). In laying the ground for discourse, introjection facilitates communion with another viewpoint about loss and links to its psychic and cultural integration. Whereas incorporation refuses the reality of a loss, introjection intrinsically relates, then, to the open procedure of mourning.

Abraham and Torok emphasize that fantasies of incorporation result from '*losses that for some reason cannot be acknowledged as such*' (130, italics in original).

[68] See also Davis 2007: 134.

Incorporation acts to implement 'the metaphor of introjection' in a literal manner 'when the usually spontaneous process of introjection becomes self-aware' through 'reflexive treatment, as it were' (128). Where the empty mouth cannot be filled with 'introjective speech' — because for some reason it cannot vocalise the loss — it seeks substitutive nourishment through the incorporation of the lost object (128). That is to say, '[f]ailing to feed itself on words to be exchanged with others, the mouth absorbs in fantasy all or part of a person — the genuine depository of what is now nameless' (128) The replacement of the absent words with 'an imaginary thing' acts as 'illusory nourishment' (128-29, italics in original). However, incorporation does not stop at substitution, but erases the idea of a gap 'to be filled with words' (129).

The fantasy of incorporation does not, then, merely inhibit the loss being acknowledged or named. Rather, Abraham and Torok argue, incorporation works directly against the process of introjection: the basis for the creation of metaphors to speak or draw a loss (132). As Butler summarises, '[w]hereas introjection founds the possibility of metaphorical signification, incorporation is antimetaphorical precisely because it maintains the loss as radically unnameable' (1990: 68). Incorporation is, then, much more than 'a failure to name or avow the loss', since it 'erodes the conditions of metaphorical signification itself' (68).

Melancholia: culturally prohibited mourning

In Abraham and Torok's model of incorporation melancholia implicitly imbricates with social constraints and prohibitions about articulating and thus mourning loss. Similar to Butler's application of melancholia to gender formation and identity, it is conceptualised as linked to the social and cultural order and the mourning it permits. While, as we saw earlier, the ego is composed of the remnants of unfinished grief towards lost objects of love (Freud 1923: 28), Butler emphasizes how the constitution of that grief is socially and culturally conditioned. Within an overarching social framework of heterosexuality, she contends that while the identification with the opposite-sex parental love-object is both accepted and anticipated, the one with the same-sex parent is prohibited (1997: 135). When the attachment to the same-sex object has to be given up, it cannot, then, be acknowledged and mourned (135). Consequently, gender is acquired partly at least through the 'repudiation' of the former attachment to the same-sex parent and a subsequent muting of that loss under an internalised sign of 'prohibition and disavowal' (136 and 139). Gender is thus haunted by the love it cannot grieve for — homosexual

identification — and likewise heterosexual identity is partially constituted by a residual disavowed identification (139-40).

While Butler reads melancholia in relation to gender formation and identity, what is crucial for my argument is her emphasis that 'a set of *emphatically social prohibitions*' determines the composition of the self's 'structural grief' (Forter 2003: 141, my italics). The inability or refusal to mourn the loss of a love-object thus falls in line with a cultural demand. Butler elaborates:

> When certain kinds of losses are compelled by a set of culturally prevalent prohibitions, we might expect a culturally prevalent form of melancholia […]. And where there is no public recognition or discourse through which such a loss might be named and mourned, then melancholia takes on cultural dimensions of contemporary consequence. (Butler 1997: 139, cited in Forter 2003: 141)

Melancholia therefore emanates from but also reflects the prohibition that has produced it. Butler's formulation brings the idea of advocating melancholia as a political response to loss yet further into question (Forter 2003: 140). Although it posits a psychic attachment to loss, rather than 'a prescription for melancholia', it is a setting out of 'the psychosocial conditions under which its hegemony flourishes' (141). Where melancholy arises from a cultural prohibition about recognising particular types of loss hinged to a rejection of alterity conceptualising it as politically purposeful is both limited and (self-) limiting. When the cultural and social prohibitions around a loss remain intact, although melancholia in a sense points them out, since they cannot be openly addressed it leaves them unremarked. The losses remain enjoined to the prohibition around their mourning. As Forter reminds us, 'melancholic ambivalence' may be the product of 'a diseased or insufficiently empathic social order' (140). In lieu of advocating melancholia as an appropriate response, in such instances, a more productive way forward is to alter 'the psychosocial conditions' that have rendered 'the lost object/identity hateful […] in the first place' (140). In other words, the prohibition against mourning the losses must clearly be removed.

The idea of melancholia emanating from social prohibitions around recognising certain types of loss implicitly situates it in the public sphere. The cultural significance of melancholia derives from the lack of a 'public recognition or discourse' through which such losses 'might be named and mourned' (Butler 1997: 139, cited in Forter

2003: 141). Public acknowledgement of loss, which relates of course to public memory and memorialisation, pertains to individual but also collective experiences: the losses of families, communities and nations.

In this final part of the theory section, I explore melancholia in the context of collective losses and its significance for the construction of collective memory. In particular, I relate my argument to the "pacto del olvido", the tacit agreement to forget the civil war and Franco era which characterised the Spanish Transition. Interconnectedly, I liken Teresa Vilarós's diagnosis of the Transition as a diseased body with unconscious withdrawal symptoms to one in a state of melancholy. First, however, I set out Alexander and Margarete Mitscherlich's use of Freud's theories of mourning and melancholia in the context of post-war West Germany and Paul Gilroy's development of their work into what he calls "post-colonial melancholia". Gilroy explores this concept with regard to Britain, but suggests it is also relevant to other post-colonial Western European countries. Taking up this suggestion, I investigate how "post-colonial melancholia" pertains to the disremembrance of the memory of the civil war in the Spanish Transition.

Post-colonial melancholia

According to the Mitscherlichs, after Germany's defeat in the Second World War, its people 'warded off a collective process of mourning' by narrowly projecting the country's 'accumulated guilt […] onto its fallen leader and his immediate accomplices' (Gilroy 2004: 107). Accompanied by 'denial of the destructiveness and wickedness of Germany's war aims', this guilt had epistemological repercussions as it served 'to block and defer the country's comprehension of its history' (107).

The Mitscherlichs placed melancholia in a collective context, regarding it 'as an affliction' that results from 'the loss of certain kinds of social bonds', something that 'has to be worked through in the name of inventing a society that remembers, rather than unconsciously repeats, a murderous and authoritarian past' (Forter 2003: 135).[69]

[69] Dominick LaCapra has conceptualised mourning as a mode of 'working through' a response to loss or historical trauma and melancholia, conversely, as one of 'acting out' (2001: 65-66). As Anne Whitehead observes, both 'acting out' and 'working through' apply to repetition of historical trauma: melancholia involves a negative repeating of the past 'as if it was fully present', and indicates 'trauma's paralysing influence', whereas 'working-through' the past in mourning reflects the notion of repetition linked to memory and catharsis (2004: 86-87). See also LaCapra 1994: 193-203 (especially 193-94) and 205-23 and 1998: 43-72 (especially 43-45 and 54-55), 183-87 and 195-96.

Construing melancholia as 'the condition of authentic mourning', they argued that 'German society should have undergone a kind of melancholic crisis, a collective plunge into depression' because of 'the enforced rupture of individual egos from the Führer as ego-ideal' (135). Thus, the German people could have acknowledged 'the narcissistic identifications that provided the psychosocial support for the Holocaust' rather than denying these as such (135). They would, then, have been able 'to mourn the genocidal deaths in which they had psychically collaborated' (135). [70]

The process of melancholia and mourning was evaded by several interrelated strategies, including Germans' 'tendency to cast themselves as victims' and an attempt to "derealize" recent history, by emptying it of reality (135). The post-war present appeared, then, unrelated to 'the Nazi past' (Mitscherlich and Mitscherlich 1975: 23). Other avoidance strategies were the instant rush for 'transfer of allegiance to the Allies' along with 'the collective manic defenses embodied symptomatically in the "economic miracle"' (Forter 2003: 135).[71] The failure to mourn played out at the level of memory. As the ability to remember entire portions of 'the national past' disappeared, 'destructive blank spaces' were left in 'individual autobiographies' (Gilroy 2004: 107).[72] These produced 'patterns of intergenerational complicity and conflict', which fostered 'a culture of alienation from and indifference not only to the past' but also "to anything that entails responsibility" (107).[73]

Paul Gilroy has argued that the Mitscherlichs' insights reflect the need for post-colonial countries to confront and work though their imperial and colonial pasts. Gilroy marshals his argument with regard to the 'post-colonial conditions' of Britain (107). Since the country's victory over Hitler and the Nazis in the Second World War he suggests British society has been beset by 'an inability' — or perhaps we might add an unwillingness — to acknowledge let alone 'actually mourn' the reality of its post-imperial status: the fact that Britain's 'circumstances and moods' had been profoundly changed by 'the end of the Empire and consequent loss of imperial prestige' (98).

[70] The Mitscherlichs investigated 'the absence of mourning reactions' amongst individuals in postwar West Germany, but applied their findings at a collective level (1975: xxv). However, they noted that '[t]ransferring […] individual experiences onto a large group' had many difficulties, since the great spectrum 'of living circumstances and character differences adds new and unknown factors' (Mitscherlich and Mitscherlich 1975: xxv, cited in Bergen 2000: 178).
[71] The Mitscherlichs' argument is 'long, contentious and complex' (Gilroy 2004: 108).
[72] Mitscherlich and Mitscherlich 1975: xvi-xvii.
[73] Mitscherlich and Mitscherlich 1975: xx.

Instead of working through the difficulties attending the British imperial past — trying, then, to integrate them as such — 'that unsettling history was diminished, denied', and, where possible, 'actively forgotten' (98).

Gilroy links his argument to Britain's victory against the Nazis in the Second World War, which has secured 'a special grip on Britain's culture and self-understanding' (95). That victory, he observes, is all too frequently invoked as a definitive mark of Britishness, past and also present (96). Indeed, 'the totemic power of the great anti-Nazi war' appears to have strengthened 'even as its veterans have died out' (96-97). Gilroy remarks the war has become a kind of cultural shield against the history of Britain's 'postcolonial conflicts', which have been evacuated 'from the national consciousness' (97). Although Britain's 'forgotten wars' have left significant imprints 'on the body politic' their memory has been folded into, and thus lost amid, one overarching image: 'Britain at war against the Nazis, under attack, yet stalwart and ultimately triumphant' (97).

For Gilroy, British society's failure to work through its imperial history has left it suffering from a malady called "post-colonial" or "postimperial melancholia" (98). Echoing Freud's initial view of melancholy as a pathology, he contends the term embodies 'this syndrome's links with the past and its pathological character' (98). Specifically, "post-colonial" or "postimperial melancholia" describes 'the guilt-ridden loathing and depression' that characterises the country's 'xenophobic responses' to the post-colonial people who have come to Britain since the Empire broke up (98).[74]

Gilroy highlights the link that the Mitscherlichs make between 'melancholic reactions' and what they refer to as "the loss of a fantasy of omnipotence" (108). The Mitscherlichs suggest that 'the racial and national fantasies' on which 'imperial and colonial power' was based were like those that drove the concept of 'the Aryan master race', mainly 'narcissistic' (108). Drawing on this premise, Gilroy contends that in order to 'adjust to the horrors of their own modern history' and begin to construct 'a new national identity from the debris of their broken narcissism', the British people need to recognise 'the brutalities of colonial rule', which were carried out 'in their name and to their benefit' (108). In other words, Britons bear 'the painful obligations to work

[74] Christopher Lane has similarly claimed Britain is in a state of 'national melancholy' a propos its imperial past: 'Britain's situation would appear closer to melancholia than mourning', he states, since the country 'has yet to record the empire as a lost and irretrievable object' (1995: 232-33, cited in Boone 2003: 5-6).

through the grim details of [their] imperial and colonial history' and alter what has been a stasis of guilt about the past into a genuine and thus 'more productive shame' (108). British society must move, in short, towards recognition of the past together with moral accountability. This transformation would create the right climate for constructing 'a multicultural nationality' that would not have an abnormal level of fear 'about the prospect of exposure to either strangers or otherness' (108).

Gilroy maintains there are parallel cases of "post-colonial melancholia" in many other European countries. In particular, '[t]he modern histories of […] Belgium, France, Spain, Italy, and the Netherlands might also be used to construct equivalent arguments amidst the wreckage of their colonial extensions and the injustices of their inconsistent responses to immigration' (109). Such analyses would rest upon these countries' difficulties in recognising 'the pains and the gains' of 'imperial adventures' and upon the problems that have been produced by 'their inability to disentangle the disruptive results' attributed to 'an immigrant presence' from the leftover, yet powerful effects of 'lingering', if mostly unstated, 'colonial relationships and imperial fantasies' (109).

In what follows I aim to show how Spain exemplifies the concept of "post-colonial" or "postimperial melancholia". Considering Spain as an imperial and colonial power, I link my argument to the disremembrance of the memory of the civil war and the Francoist past in the Transition. I argue that the political and psychic rupture with the recent past extended to Spain's post-colonial history: as a result, Spaniards remained virtually unaware of that past, in other words, oblivious to it.

As set out in the Introduction, the defining feature of the Spanish Transition was the apparent closure of the Franco era and all it had represented. Ostensibly, the break with the past was intended to prevent a re-ignition of the civil war after Franco's death. Given the 'economic, political, cultural and social conditions' in which the Transition took place, the actual threat of a recurrence of the war 'was structurally unlikely' (López 2005: 80 and 82-83). The structures of 1970s Spain were different to those of the 1930s, which had given rise to the conflict (Graham 2012: 123). However, as emphasized in the Introduction, there was still a real possibility of large-scale violence (123). By and large the Franco regime had retained the backing of the army (Graham and Quiroga 2012: 17). Moreover, the possibility of violence was accentuated by the economic recession (17).

Crucially, as Paloma Aguilar has argued, the civil war's 'condition as possibility' was such that it constituted the 'traumatic memory' of the civil war and

Francoist past (Aguilar 1996: 36, cited in López 2005: 83). The idea that another civil war might thwart the Transition introduced a deep wariness into the process of democratisation. As Josep Colomer remarks,

> El miedo a la repetición de un conflicto social violento, como el de 1936-39, suscitaba prudencia en una gran mayoría de los ciudadanos y de los miembros de las elites políticas. (Colomer 1998: 174, cited in López 2005: n. 4, p. 94)
>
> [The fear of a repetition of a violent social conflict, like that of 1936-39, provoked caution in a vast majority of citizens and the members of the political establishment. (My translation)]

As discussed in the Introduction, the Transition was founded on 'a *de facto* political amnesty, based on the so-called "pact of silence"' ["pacto del olvido"] (Graham 2004: 322). The idea of forgetting the recent past was not restricted to the political realm, but extended to civil society (Davis 2005: 866). Attitudes towards the silencing of the past were not uniform. But Spaniards took part with more or less agreement as, 'historical amnesia was an unarticulated price of democratic change' (Balfour 2000: 282). The collective memory of the civil war and Francoist past was, then, publicly made up of forgetting. Newly democratic Spain was effectively founded on a 'suspension of memory', or, more precisely, its public articulation (Davis 2005: 866).

Rather than the diversity of individual experiences of Francoism being recognised, in collective memory the past was cast as one account (López 2005: 81). No distinctions were drawn between perpetrators and victims. As explained in the Introduction, the war was represented 'as a *guerra fratricida* (a war between brothers)', which left 'the location of responsibility […] deliberately unspecified' (Richards 2006: 88). Consequently, 'a great deal [of] buried psychology' remained 'amongst social groups of diverse size' and innumerable 'individuals', including 'the painful experiences […] of families' (88).

The leitmotif of forgetting which characterised the collective memory of the civil war resounded at the individual level. As explained in the Introduction, while memory is individually experienced, as Maurice Halbwachs showed, it is collectively and socially made (1992: 38). The production of memories does not, then, depend on

temporal linearity, but the collective viewpoint of our immediate contemporaries, such as our family, friends or social community (52). However, Anne Whitehead observes that Nancy Wood has drawn attention to an important distinction Halbwachs makes between 'individual and collective acts of remembrance' (2004: 43). Wood remarks:

> [W]hile the emanation of individual memory is primarily subject to the laws of the unconscious, public memory — whatever its unconscious vicissitudes — testifies to a will or desire on the part of some social group or disposition of power to select and organize representations of the past so that these will be embraced by individuals as their own. (2000: 2, cited in Whitehead 2004: 43)

As Whitehead elaborates, collective memory fosters social narratives linked to political interests, in order to 'mobilise loyalties' towards them (2004: 43). To a greater or lesser extent, these narratives are assimilated in the form of individual memories, which means that 'socially organised representations of the past influence and inform personal remembrance' (43). Personal accounts of history are, in other words, affected by communal recollections.

As discussed in the Introduction, the idea of the civil war as a collective traumatic memory played a symbolic role in the Transition (López 2005: 83). For Teresa Vilarós, the 'reforma política' ['political reform'] that was crucial to the Transition went along with a 'ruptura psíquica con la historia reciente' ['psychic rupture with recent history'] (1998: 16). Although the Transition was openly based on a political emphasis of '"reforma", y no "ruptura"' ['"reform", and not "rupture"'], this reform entailed 'la eliminación súbita de toda referencia al pasado inmediato franquista' ['the abrupt elimination of all reference to the immediate Francoist past'] (16). The break with the past had symbolic resonance for the Spanish people: Spain entered democracy 'con un "Pacto del Olvido" al que fervorosamente se aferró el imaginario colectivo español' ['with a "Pact of Oblivion" to which the Spanish collective imaginary fervently clung'] (16).

In the light of Butler's thinking on melancholia, the memory of the civil war and Francoist past became determined by 'a set of emphatically social prohibitions' (Forter 2003: 141). Consequently, 'a culturally prevalent form of melancholia' set in (Butler 1997: 139, cited in Forter 2003: 141). The Transition naturalised itself by insisting on the radical otherness of the recent past and accordingly Transitional Spanishness was

mobilised through a melancholic incorporation of its disavowed memory. Although positions were very different, depending on whether or how people had supported or opposed the Franco regime, at a collective level history was left unacknowledged. Where an integration of previous events might have been set in train, instead, Spaniards effectively refused their recent past by breaking from any engagement with it.

As in post-war West Germany after 1945, there was, then, no attempt at working through the memories of the civil war. Spaniards were unable to mourn that — their — history. Citing Freud's observation that 'el proceso de represión de la memoria' ['the process of repression of memory'] is not only <<individual, sino en alto grado móvil>> ['individual, but also exceedingly mobile'] (1915: 146), Vilarós remarks that everybody played a part in the removal of the past (1998: 9).[75] As she expresses it, 'todos y cada uno de nosotros y nosotras contribuimos colectivamente en esos años a deshacernos de ella' ['all of us and each of us collectively contributed to getting rid of it'] (9). Since recent history was essentially evacuated from public memory, instead of being inscribed in collective consciousness as in mourning, the memories of the civil war and the Francoist past were removed to the unconscious as in melancholia. As discussed in the Introduction, mourning for historical and political losses takes place within collective memory: 'public, social and cultural practices and discourses' about the past (Davis 2005: 866). Thus, as in the Franco era the Republican losses remained publicly unmourned. These losses did not of course disappear, evaporate as such. Instead, they remained privately psychically buried, unconsciously situated in the collective memory of the Transition.

Spain represents, then, a parallel case to the Mitscherlichs' argument about post-war West Germany. As a result of the political and psychic rupture with the recent past, Spaniards did not take account of their history nor of the identifications which had previously occurred. Moreover, the Spanish case also tallies with Paul Gilroy's notion of "post-colonial melancholia". Unlike the memory of the civil war and Franco era, Spain's history as an imperial and colonial power was not overtly or consciously rejected as such. But the disremembrance of the recent past effectively screened off the country's post-colonial history. Along with the memory of the civil war and the Franco era, this past did not figure in Spaniards' collective memory.

[75] In English translation, the quotation reads, 'Not only is [repression] […] *individual* in its operation, but it is also exceedingly *mobile*' (Freud 1915: 151, italics in original).

Just as later generations of Spaniards were unaware of the memory of the civil war, they were, then, oblivious to their country's history as an imperial and colonial power. Isabel Santaolalla has observed that 'Spanish mass culture shows a surprising indifference to the country's colonial history' (2002: 67). She suggests this is partly because 'the idea of empire is almost totally absent from the collective imaginary of present-day Spaniards, of whatever social class or economic background' (67). Santaolalla attributes this absence to the fact that Spain's imperial and colonial status ended a long time ago: '[t]he length of time that has elapsed since Spain's status as an imperial nation, as well as its painful and progressive decline during the long decolonization process, deprive that episode in its history of any market value in contemporary Spain' (67).

According to Vilarós, the Transition was viewed as the continuation of an unbroken historical narrative from the time when Spain's former colonies became independent in the nineteenth century (1998: 6-7). Thus, while 'la muerte de Franco se vive como un momento de cambio paradigmático' ['the death of Franco was lived as a time of paradigmatic change'], at the same time 'la narración histórica del fin del franquismo no marca ninguna discontinuidad narrativa' ['the historical narration of the end of Francoism did not mark any narrative discontinuity'] (7). In other words, the move from Francoism to post-Francoism — one historical paradigm to another — was empirically understood 'como un "suceder" histórico consecuente y coherente' ['as a seamless and coherent historical "transition"'] (7). But this apparently 'línea recta de la historia' ['straight line of history'] was littered with 'extrañas fisuras y agujeros narrativos' ['strange fissures and narrative holes'] (7). Behind its streamlined historical façade, the Transition was punctured with 'puntos desplazados' ['displaced spots'] (7).[76]

[76] The notion of holes and crevices blistering the Transition's smooth historical front recurs in Republican exile literature. Ofelia Ferrán observes how many texts of the 1939 exiles are 'works that create, or better yet, embody, multiple fissures', or to use María Teresa León's term from *Memoria de la melancolía* (1998), '"grietas,"' within the '"muro muy sólido" ["very solid wall"] that is the predominant narrative of post-Franco history which presents the transition as a successful and peaceful recuperation of full democracy that adequately dealt with, and put to rest, issues related to the civil war and the Francoist past' (2007: 171). Cristina Moreiras Menor also uses the metaphor of, 'the fissure, or "grieta,"' in her analysis of texts produced within post-Franco Spain in the 1970s and 1980s which effectively countered 'the dominant rhetoric of the need to put the past to rest' (Ferrán 2007: 171-73). In *Cultura herida: literatura y cine en la España democrática* [*Wounded culture: literature and cinema in democratic Spain*], Moreiras Menor explores works that symbolise traumatic experiences of the war and Francoism, which lay excluded in collective memory due to the break with the past on which the Transition was

Vilarós suggests that 'un espacio imprevisto' ['an unforeseen space'] appeared in the margins of the historical narrative, which relates to 'las rupturas de la narrativa histórica o "lapsus de la sintaxis"' ['the ruptures of the historical narrative or "syntactical lapses"'] highlighted by the work of the historian Michel de Certeau (7). According to de Certeau, 'modern Western history essentially begins with differentiation between the *present* and the *past*' (1988: 2, italics in original). This division is about constructing the present with regard to current knowledge and understanding, by effectively deciding 'what can be *understood* and what must be *forgotten* in order to obtain the representation of a present intelligibility' (4, italics in original). However, de Certeau argues that historiography which is based on the shutting off of the past in order to affirm the present creates an historical 'return of the repressed', as it inevitably produces the return of that past in some form:

> Whatever this new understanding of the past holds to be irrelevant — shards created by the selection of materials, remainders left aside by an explication — comes back, despite everything, on the edges of discourse or in its rifts and crannies: "resistances", "survivals", or delays discreetly perturb the pretty order of a line of "progress" or a system of interpretation. These are lapses in the syntax constructed by the law of a place. Therein they symbolize a return of the repressed, that is, a return of what, at a given moment, has *become* unthinkable in order for a new identity to *become* thinkable. (4, italics in original)

As set out in the Introduction, Vilarós contends that the Transition was effectively marked by withdrawal symptoms regarding the Francoist past. Spain and also its people experienced 'lo impensable reprimido' ['the inconceivable repressed'] like 'un Mono colgado a la espalda' ['a Monkey hung on the back']: as living, breathing and felt or palpable symptoms 'en esta intersección fisural, en este espacio negro, lapso, punto o pasaje que va del tardo al posfranquismo' ['in this fissured intersection, in this black space, spot or passage which went from late to post-Francoism'] (8). Despite the proclaimed break with the past, Transitional Spain was infected with reactions to its recent history. While it could not be acknowledged, the 'impensable reprimido'

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based: 'Sus escenas se abren a relatos olvidados para la Historia' ['Their scenes open up to stories forgotten by History' (Ferrán's translation)] (Moreiras Menor 2002: 123, cited in Ferrán 2007: 173).

[‘inconceivable repressed’] — the past that had been designated ‘unthinkable’ in the present — continued pulsing unabated.

For Vilarós, the repression of memories is comparable to Lacan’s concept of ‘la “Cosa”: evocación de un algo ominoso al que es difícil acceder porque siempre fuera del significado’ [‘the Thing, evocation of something ominous which it is difficult to access because it is always beyond meaning’ (My translation)] (Vilarós 1998: 11).[77] The repressed memories thus ‘return as something […] which “aunque actúa sobre nosotros, no puede expresarse” [“cannot be expressed despite its affecting us” (Vilaseca’s translation)]’ (Vilarós 1998: 11, cited in Vilaseca 2010: 10), or in Kristeva’s description of the Lacanian concept, something which ‘<<se inscribe en nosotros sin recuerdo, cómplice subterráneo de nuestras angustias indecibles>>’ [“is inscribed within us without memory, the buried accomplice of our unspeakable anguishes” (My translation)] (Kristeva 1989: 14, cited in Vilarós 1998: 11).

The internal reality of the Transition was, then, at odds with its external appearance. Although the decision to break with the recent past fostered a new beginning, the past remained at an unconscious level as in melancholia. As indicated in the Introduction, the Transition was thus a rupture ‘en la sintaxis histórica’ [‘in the historical syntax’], which on the one hand enabled ‘iniciar en el posfranquismo una nueva escritura’ [‘the first steps of a new writing in post-Francoism’], but on the other contained at its core ‘todo un pasado conflictivo que el colectivo “pacto del olvido” reprimió’ [‘a whole conflictive past which the collective “pact of oblivion” had repressed’] (20). Underneath Spain’s fresh exterior there existed, ‘la cara oscura de la fisura transicional, la profunda herida sufrida por el inconsciente colectivo español’ [‘the dark face of the transitional fissure, the deep wound suffered by the Spanish collective unconscious’] (20).

In the discussion of Javier Cercas’s *Soldados de Salamina* that follows, I explore the novel from the perspective of mourning and melancholia. I suggest the narrator’s discourse characterises him as melancholic and I elaborate how his narrative reflects the “pacto del olvido” and the linked notion of the civil war as a collective traumatic memory. Thus, I aim to demonstrate that the collective disremembrance of the past has filtered into individual memory. I contend the novel mirrors the forgetting of the past as

[77] Lacan regards ‘“das Ding” (literally “the thing”) as the pre-symbolic substance upon whose repression the consistency of our world of objects and symbolically constructed identities depends’ (1992: 55, cited in Vilaseca 2010: n. 20, p. 17).

a severance from historical reality and show how this counter-reflects a discourse of unadmitted otherness. The narrator's encounter with the Republican veteran Miralles figures, I argue, the trans-generational transmission of memories of the civil war. Through Miralles' articulation of his hitherto unspoken recollections the novel symbolises the development of melancholia into mourning. *Soldados de Salamina* thus highlights the cultural significance of melancholy. The novel performs a public act of mourning that represents the resurgence of private memories of the civil war in the public realm from around 1998. But the image of a melancholic residue signals a lack of closure for the memory of the civil war.

Synopsis

Soldados de Salamina is narrated in the first person by a journalist named Javier Cercas, who is also a largely unsuccessful novelist. The novel is clearly divided into three parts: 'Primera parte: Los amigos del bosque' ['Part One: Forest Friends'], 'Segunda parte: Soldados de Salamina' ['Part Two: Soldiers of Salamis'] and 'Tercera parte: Cita en Stockton' ['Part Three: Rendezvous in Stockton']. The story begins after the millennium in Gerona, Catalonia where the narrator works on a regional newspaper. He relates how following a severe depression after a series of personal losses in 1994 he was told the story of an incident in the final stages of the civil war concerning a founder-member of the Falange and close friend of José Antonio Primo de Rivera, the writer Rafael Sánchez Mazas. After being captured by the Republicans, Sánchez Mazas escaped execution by firing squad. When an unnamed soldier found him hiding in the woods nearby, he looked at Sánchez Mazas directly and without exchanging a word let him go free. After some time living in the open Sánchez Mazas was given refuge by some peasant-farmers; he encountered three Republican deserters, with whom he hid from the retreating Republican army until the end of the war. He then became a minister in Franco's first government.

The narrator becomes fascinated with the story and with Sánchez Mazas, and seeks out some of the surviving, now octogenarian Republicans who sheltered him. After interviewing them, the narrator decides to tell the story in a biographical account entitled 'Soldados de Salamina' ['Soldiers of Salamis']. The account, which forms part two of the novel, consists of a detailed history of Sánchez Mazas' role in founding the Falange in Spain and expressing its ideology in rhetoric and symbols, along with his participation in Franco's first government and life as a wealthy, successful author. The

middle of the account — and therefore the novel — consists of a florid extended retelling of the civil war incident.

In the third part of the novel, the narrator reviews his recently written story. Initially, he is ecstatic about his finished work. But he soon realises an element is missing: the narrative has a significant gap. He relapses into another profound depression. Shortly after, he returns to work and goes to interview Roberto Bolaño, a Chilean author living nearby. Bolaño tells him the story of Miralles, a Republican soldier who played a vital role in the fight against Nazism and fascism in the Second World War. The narrator decides Miralles was the anonymous soldier who encountered Sánchez Mazas in the civil war, and hence the piece that is missing from his story. Helped by Conchi, his unconventional girlfriend, he searches for Miralles, whom he eventually finds in an old people's home in Dijon, France. The narrator goes to meet the Republican veteran. Miralles says he was not the soldier who encountered Sánchez Mazas in the civil war, but through their conversations, and Miralles' recalling of his dead comrades, the narrator realises the importance of remembering forgotten pasts. Returning to Spain on the train, he perceives that his recognition of Miralles' history completes his text, but also figures his own unacknowledged past.

Critical reception

Cercas's book has won numerous awards and to date it has sold over a million copies worldwide.[78] The novel won the Premio Llibreter de narrativa al mejor libro del año (the independent Catalan booksellers' prize), Premio Ciutat de Barcelona de Literatura en Lengua Castellana, Premio Salambó and Premio "*Qué Leer*" de los Lectores, all in 2001; the Premio Extremadura a la Creación a la mejor Obra Literaria de Autor Extremeño and Premio Ciudad de Cartagena de Novela Histórica in 2002 and the 2003 Premio Internacional de Literatura Grinzane Cavour.[79] Thus far, *Soldados de Salamina* has been translated into more than twenty languages.[80] My references are to the Spanish original and the translation into English by Anne McLean (2003), which won the 2004

[78] <http://www.theguardian.com/culture/2011/apr/04/javier-cercas-spain-life-writing> [accessed 12 May 2014]
[79] <http://www.cervantes.es/bibliotecas_documentacion_espanol/creadores/cercas_javier_premios.htm> [accessed 12 May 2014]
[80] <www.cervantes.es/bibliotecas_documentacion_espanol/creadores/cercas_javier. htm> [accessed 28 July 2014]

Independent Foreign Fiction Prize.[81] In 2003, the novel was also made into a film called *Soldados de Salamina*, directed by David Trueba.[82]

The book had very favourable reviews in both Spain and the UK. In *El Mundo* Santos Sanz Villanueva described it as 'una lectura amena y seria, apasionante' ['an enjoyable and serious, enthralling read'], in which '[l]a tensión permanente del relato — presentada sin dramatismo — va dirigida a un desenlace de una fuerza insuperable' ['(t)he constant tension of the tale — presented without dramatics — is aimed at a denouement of unsurpassable strength'].[83] In *La Vanguardia* Mauricio Bach said that with the exception of Conchi, who was a character out of place, *Soldados de Salamina* was 'un libro estupendo que indaga de una manera atípica en la Guerra Civil, huyendo de los caminos trillados y lugares comunes que deslucen o invalidan buena parte de los intentos de abordar narrativamente ese periodo' ['a wonderful book that investigated the Civil War in an atypical way, avoiding well-worn paths and common places that detract from or invalidate a good part of the attempts to tackle fictionally this period'].[84] In the UK, in *The Independent* Boyd Tonkin stated '*Soldiers of Salamis* is a fairly short novel, yet it feels, not long, but large: spacious, generous, and nuanced'.[85] For Nick Caistor in *The Guardian* the book offers 'a gentle and often moving reassertion that individual lives and actions matter most, however overwhelming the historical circumstances may seem'.[86] In *The Daily Telegraph* Miranda France called Cercas's novel 'a great read and a moving epitaph'.[87] In the USA, in the *Los Angeles Times* Rebecca Pawel described it as 'funny and gripping and also a tear-jerker in the best sense of the word'.[88]

Soldados de Salamina has spawned a great deal of academic criticism. For Claudia Jünke, the novel is 'un trabajo de reconstrucción historiográfica' ['a work of historiographic reconstruction'], which, though full of references to 'la realidad

[81] <http://www.cervantes.es/bibliotecas_documentacion_espanol/creadores/cercas_javier_premios.htm> [accessed 12 May 2014]
[82] <www.cervantes.es/bibliotecas_documentacion_espanol/creadores/cercas_javier. htm> [accessed 28 July 2014]
[83] <http://www.elmundo.es/elmundolibro/2001/06/04/anticuario/991418353.html> [accessed 13 June 2016]
[84] <http://hemeroteca.lavanguardia.com/preview/2001/03/23/pagina-4/34187284/pdf.html?search=vencedor> [accessed 13 June 2016]
[85] <http://www.independent.co.uk/arts-entertainment/books/reviews/soldiers-of-salamis-javier-cercas-trans-anne-mclean-108700.html> [accessed 10 June 2016]
[86] <https://www.theguardian.com/books/2003/jun/21/fiction> [accessed 10 June 2016]
[87] <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/culture/books/3593857/Flight-from-the-firing-squad.html> [accessed 10 June 2016]
[88] <http://articles.latimes.com/print/2004/feb/29/books/bk-pawel29> [accessed 10 June 2016]

histórica' ['historical reality'], involves the 'instrumentalización de los sucesos históricos al servicio de los intereses estéticos' ['exploitation of historical events for aesthetic interests'] (2006: 119). She claims that in highlighting the inextricable link of the history of Sánchez Mazas and that of Miralles 'para la apropiación retrospectiva del pasado colectivo' ['for the retrospective appropriation of the collective past'], and in emphasizing 'la necesidad literaria y estética de concebir una narración bien construida ['the literary and aesthetic need to conceive a well constructed narrative'], the novel presents the civil war 'como un punto de referencia cultural de una memoria colectiva' ['as a cultural point of reference of a collective memory'] (122).

In my view, rather than using the historical events of the war for aesthetic ends *Soldados de Salamina* represents the trans-generational effects of the disremembrance of memory in the Transition. While I accord that the novel contributes to the construction of a collective cultural memory of the civil war, I establish how this links to the movement of melancholia into mourning.

Alexis Grohmann argues that Cercas's book has a digressive character that imbricates it in a 'linaje "digresivo" o errabundo' ['"digressive" or wandering lineage'] exemplified by contemporary Spanish novels like *Negra espalda del tiempo* [*The dark back of time*] (1998) by Javier Marías and *Sefarad* (2001) by Antonio Muñoz Molina, and European literature such as W.G. Sebald's *Austerlitz* (2001) (2005: 297-98). However, although *Soldados de Salamina* has various traces of digressive literature it 'no consigue ser una narración errabunda en cuerpo y alma, a la manera de *Negra espalda del tiempo*, *Sefarad* o *Austerlitz*' ['is not a wandering story in body and soul, in the manner of *Negra espalda del tiempo*, *Sefarad* and *Austerlitz*'] (317). But *Negra espalda del tiempo* is an antecedent of Cercas's text, Grohmann maintains. The level and type of coincidences between the two novels is such that it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that their similarities are ascribable simply 'al azar' ['to chance'] (319).

According to Ross Chambers, *Soldados de Salamina* illustrates the idea of 'assemblage', which imperfectly translates the French word *agencement*, meaning a fitting or sticking together 'like "montage" [in film] or in painting "collage"' (2006: 54). The novel 'presents itself, self-reflexively, as a "truthful" (historically accurate) fiction' that will restore the lost incident — the encounter between Sánchez Mazas and the anonymous militiaman — 'even as its assemblage structure exploits the fungibility of genre difference to create a pervasive sense of elusiveness and uncertainty' (60).

Samuel Amago concentrates on how Cercas's novel explores historiography with regard to truth (2006: 144). He emphasizes that the book 'complicates the category of truth in a way that renders the traditional dichotomy of fiction/reality obsolete' (145). Through its 'self-conscious' setting out of the links 'between reality, literature, and truth' the novel becomes 'a persuasive meditation on narrative and memory' (145). In a second piece, Amago claims *Soldados de Salamina* sets out 'to vindicate the memory of the forgotten heroes who fought in defence of the democratically elected Spanish Republic' (2010: 251). The novel highlights, he argues, 'the power that the dead (and the past) have to haunt the present' and reflects the act of writing as both 'a therapeutic method for coming to terms with personal trauma' and a means of memorializing the deceased (249). For Amago, the 'straightforward reflexivity' of the narrator links to a wish 'to give a voice to the silenced and forgotten ghosts of history' (258). By telling their stories Cercas's work ensures 'these ghosts are no longer anonymous' and thus 'allowed to exist in the collective consciousness in narrative form where, in the best of cases, we may learn from their experiences' (258).

I accord with Amago's emphasis on the role of narrative in Cercas's text and its self-reflexive character. Likewise, I concur the novel seeks to bring the forgotten and unnamed ghosts of the Spanish Civil War to collective consciousness, but I aim to show how the emergence of the haunting past represents the movement of melancholia into mourning.

Amago observes that *Soldados de Salamina* has sometimes been read as a work of non-fiction possibly, he suggests, because the narrator is called Javier Cercas (2006: 144).[89] In a review for *El Mundo*, for example, Juan Bonilla claimed, 'Con esta historia, Javier Cercas escribe un libro veloz, hermoso, vibrante. No una novela, desde luego, sino un relato real, un excelente reportaje' ['With this story, Javier Cercas has written a vibrant, beautiful, fast-moving book. Not a novel, of course, but rather a true story, an excellent piece of reporting'].[90] As we have seen, other critics have applauded the novel's fictional representation of history. In a glowing review for *El País*, the Peruvian writer Mario Vargas Llosa stated:

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[89] Talking about the self-reflexivity of his novels, Javier Cercas states: '"These narrators in the books are not myself, even though in the case of *Soldiers of Salamis* the name is my name"' (Lea, 15 June 2007 <http://www.theguardian.com/books/ 2007/jun/15/fiction.culture> [accessed 12 May 2014]). '[T]here is only', he adds, 'one "absolutely fictional character" in *Soldiers of Salamis*: the narrator's girlfriend, […] Conchi' (Lea, 15 June 2007).

[90] Bonilla, 13 April 2001 <www.elmundo.es/2001/04/13/cultura/> [accessed 12 May 2014], cited in Amago 2006: 145, Amago's translation.

> *Soldados de Salamina* es más importante que Rafael Sánchez Mazas y el fusilamiento del que escapó de milagro (cráter de la historia), porque en sus páginas lo literario termina prevaleciendo sobre lo histórico, la invención y la palabra manipulando la memoria de lo vivido para construir *otra* historia, de estirpe esencialmente literaria, es decir ficticia.[91]
>
> [*Soldados de Salamina* is more important than Rafael Sánchez Mazas and the firing squad from which he miraculously escaped (a crater of history), because in its pages the literary trumps the historical, and invention and words manipulate the memory of lived experience in order to construct *another* story, basically rooted in the literary, that is, the fictional.][92]

For Vargas Llosa, 'el libro es magnífico, en efecto, uno de los mejores que he leído en mucho tiempo' ['the book is magnificent, indeed, the best that I have read in a long time']. However, in contrast to Vargas Llosa's fulsome praise, *Soldados de Salamina* has been strongly criticised by some critics and Spanish intellectuals of the left, primarily for what they see as its problematic representation of Rafael Sánchez Mazas. Joan Ramon Resina vehemently criticised Cercas's work for its 'affectation of political aloofness' and 'vindication of fascist writers on dubious aesthetic terms' (2005: 344). Calling the novel 'a silly project', Resina claimed it 'drives home the message that agency is irrelevant since the truth is mired in a morass of fragmented discourses undistinguishable from myth' (344).[93] Similarly, Jo Labanyi has argued that 'the narrative shies away from tackling Sánchez Mazas' political responsibilities' (2007: 105). In her view, *Soldados de Salamina* exemplifies the restrictions of what she terms 'the docufable (fictionalised documentary) format' (105). Books and films about the civil war and post-war repression are divisible into two types, Labanyi claims: those that use a 'trope of haunting' and those that wish 'to give a realistic account' or 'adopt a documentary stance' towards the past (103). Whereas the first sort highlights 'the haunting presence of the violent past in the present', which makes us 'confront issues of transgenerational transmission and […] recognise the war's unquiet legacy continues to

[91] Vargas Llosa, 3 September 2001: <http://elpais.com/diario/2001/09/03/opinion/999468046_850215.html> italics in original [accessed 12 May 2014]
[92] Amago 2006: 157, Amago's translation.
[93] For further discussion of Resina's criticisms and a response to them see Amago 2006: n. 1, p. 198.

matter', Labanyi contends that those which use 'a realistic or documentary format attempt instead to transport us back to the past' (103). Although Cercas's novel concerns 'the present-day investigation of the past', Labanyi maintains it portrays 'the difficulties of reconstructing the past as purely practical (a matter of tracking down the evidence) rather than inherent in the narrativization of a difficult past' (105). Thus, in keeping with 'the docufable format, by the end all the facts have been unravelled, leaving us with no unfinished business' (105).

To my mind, Cercas's novel does not endeavour to convey us back to the past. Rather, I suggest, *Soldados de Salamina* is concerned with the haunting effects of the past in the present, along with the trans-generational transmission of memories. *Pace* Labanyi, through its notion of a melancholic residue, the novel represents, I will show, the past as far from laid to rest.

According to Alison Ribeiro de Menezes, Cercas's novel adopts an 'inter-generational perspective' to Spain's civil war past, but manifests 'some of the pitfalls and difficulties' entailed in recuperating that past via 'the lens of memory' (2010: 2). For her, the novel has a 'sentimental ending' that 'ultimately outweighs and neutralises' the narrator's initial self-mockery and means that there is 'insufficient irony to carry what should be a clearer distinction between author and narrator through to the final pages of the book' (3). Cercas's text culminates in 'a rosy bridging of the gap between good and bad that collapses them completely', thus evoking the idea of the war as 'a "collective madness"' (3).

In my view, *Soldados de Salamina* does not present a conflation of good and bad that elides any distinction between them. Rather, I intend to show, the novel reveals how the Transition's culture of collective disremembrance of the recent past permeated the level of individual memory in the following generations.

Juan Antonio Masoliver Ródenas also takes issue with Cercas's representation of history. Although *Soldados de Salamina* is 'una excelente novela' ['an excellent novel'], Masoliver Ródenas partly attributes its success,

> A su visión revisionista de la historia, que nos hace a todos menos culpables y que parece adaptar la violenta, embrutecida, sórdida y depauperada España de la Guerra Civil y de la primera década de la posguerra a la plácida sociedad consumista del presente. (2009: 307, cited in Ribeiro de Menezes 2010: 3)

> [(T)o its revisionist view of history that makes everyone less guilty and that appears to adapt the violent, stultifying, sordid and impoverished Spain of the Civil War and of the first decade of the post-war for the placid consumer society of the present. (My translation)]

Rachel Ann Linville criticises the novel along similar lines. In her view, *Soldados de Salamina* exemplifies the idealization of collective memory as it omits 'the fascist repression during or after the war' (2012: 368).[94] The novel promotes 'a more favourable and united image of Spain's history' by implying that 'victimization was universal and that forgiveness has led to the reunification of the "two Spains"' (364). In eliding the traumatic realities of Spain's past, Linville claims the book inhibits 'a process of mourning' (372). Cercas's work effectively covers up recent Spanish history and 'appears to continue a tendency that the Transition and the pact of silence sanctioned' (373-74).

Rather than inhibiting a process of mourning, I intend to show that *Soldados de Salamina* exemplifies the movement of melancholia into mourning. Through its textual production of a public act of mourning, the book represents, and also contributed to, the social and cultural fracturing of the "pacto del olvido" after around 1998.

Ana Luengo maintains Cercas's novel is flawed due to its lack of an ideological stance. Luengo points out that the narrator reflects the disremembrance of the memory of the civil war and the Franco era in the Spanish Transition:

> En realidad nos encontramos ante un producto de la Transición, insensible a la memoria por la simple razón de que está desprovisto de ella, y está tan desprovisto de ella, que siente más atracción por un escritor falangista que se salvo de un fusilamiento que por la realidad de la República. (2004: 241)

> [In reality we find ourselves before a product of the Transition, oblivious to memory for the simple reason that he is lacking in it, and is so devoid of it that he feels more attracted to a Falangist writer who escaped execution than to the reality of the Republic. (My translation)]

[94] Linville refers to both the novel and the film of the same name (2012: 363-64).

Although the narrator acquires memory in the course of the narrative Luengo argues that his ideological evolution is 'no sólo incompleta, sino también superficial' ['not only incomplete, but also superficial'], despite the change in tone which goes from 'una narración muy desenfadada' ['a very carefree account'] in the first part of the novel, 'al tono melodramático y sentimental del final' ['to the melodramatic and sentimental tone of the end'] (254). For her, the 'distanciamiento ideológico' ['ideological distancing'] exemplifies the vacuity of Spain's collective memory at the end of the twentieth century since the novel's 'aprovechamiento estético' ['aesthetic exploitation'] of the war whitewashes its history (255).

I concur with Luengo's view of the narrator as a result of the Transition. But rather than illustrating the vacuity of Spain's collective memory, I intend to show how the novel contributes to the construction of a collective cultural memory of the civil war and Francoist past. In addition, I will demonstrate how *Soldados de Salamina* reflects the engagement with the recent past amongst contemporary generations.

Robert Richmond Ellis claims *Soldados de Salamina* is about the narrator's attempt 'to recover the meaning of a pivotal moment in the Spanish Civil War' and thereby 'establish a genealogy that will heal the great wound of modern Spanish history' (2005: 515). But as much as the Spanish past, for Ellis, the novel is about masculinity and particularly a search for 'a father figure' (515 and 527). *Soldados de Salamina* is also a text about mourning: 'perhaps more poignantly than any contemporary narrative voice' the narrator 'engages in the work of mourning as an affirmation of those who have died as well as the living' (515). Foregrounding the real-life friendship between Javier Cercas and Roberto Bolaño, who died in 2003, Cercas's writing of the novel represents, Ellis suggests, 'an act of personal and national mourning' (532).

I accord that Cercas's book has prominent themes of masculinity and mourning. In my argument, however, I emphasize that the novel is also about melancholia and thus highlights its imbrication in mourning.

Several critics have debated the narratives of heroism in *Soldados de Salamina*. For example, Alícia Satorras Pons and Carlos Yushimoto del Valle have examined the novel's reflections on 'the symbolic importance of Miralles as an archetypal modern hero' (Amago 2010: 247). According to Enric Mallorquí-Ruscalleda, *Soldados de Salamina* is preoccupied with 'las responsabilidades éticas y su relación con la heroicidad' ['ethical responsibilities and their relation with heroism'], which relates to

the responsibility for recuperating memory at an individual and collective level (2014: 256). Mallorquí-Ruscalleda emphasizes that the narrator is redolent of the Freudian concept of mourning and melancholia, which intertwines with subjectivity, death and memory (261-65). *Soldados de Salamina* opposes itself to the post-Franco 'pacto de silencio' ['pact of silence'], he argues, highlighting memory as a crucial aspect of 'la construcción de la identidad, individual o colectiva' ['the construction of identity, individual or collective'] and 'imprescindible para establecer la consciencia de sí mismo, del conocimiento que uno tiene de su individualidad' ['essential for establishing awareness of oneself, of the knowledge that one has of one's individuality'] (267).

I concur with Mallorquí-Ruscalleda's emphasis on the novel's ethical aspects. I also accord with the significance of the narrator's state of mourning and melancholia, but to my mind the narrator's individual experience symbolises the collective forgetting of the memory of the civil war in the Transition, along with its eventual return.

Moving now to my argument, in a deconstructive and counterintuitive reading I contend that *Soldados de Salamina* demonstrates the cultural significance of melancholy. Cercas's postmodern realist novel shows how the Transition's public disremembrance of the memory of the civil war permeated the level of individual memory. Thus, I suggest, the novel reflects the Transition as a diseased cultural order as in the diagnosis of Teresa Vilarós. I focus on the novel's trope of melancholia and elaborate how this is represented through the narrator's affect. I argue that the biographical account of the Falangist Rafael Sánchez Mazas, which casts the civil war as a collective traumatic memory, reflects the trans-generational effects of the "pacto del olvido". Concurrently, the account's kitsch aesthetics illustrate the existence of a Francoist discourse in post-Transitional Spain. Through the narrator's encounter with the Republican veteran Miralles I demonstrate that *Soldados de Salamina* symbolises the trans-generational transmission of memories. The novel exemplifies the movement of melancholia into mourning and its recuperation of forgotten histories links to hitherto unrecognised alterity.

The melancholic narrator

In *Soldados de Salamina* the narrator's account of himself when he was told the story of Sánchez Mazas' escape from execution in the civil war is suggestive of a state of mourning. He relates that he had recently suffered a series of personal losses: '[t]res cosas acababan de ocurrirme por entonces: la primera es que mi padre había muerto; la

segunda es que mi mujer me había abandonado; la tercera es que yo había abandonado mi carrera de escritor' (*Soldados de Salamina*: 17)[95] ['(t)hree things had just happened: first my father had died; then my wife had left me; finally, I'd given up my literary career' (*Soldiers of Salamis*: 3)].[96] As a consequence of an unsuccessful decision to try his hand at full-time writing he experienced, 'cinco años de angustia económica, física y metafísica, tres novelas inacabadas y una depresión espantosa que me tumbó durante dos meses en una butaca, frente al televisor' (*Soldados*: 17) ['five years of economic, physical and metaphysical anguish, three unfinished novels and a dreadful depression that knocked me back into an armchair in front of the television for two whole months' (*Soldiers*: 3)].

Although the narrator's description of himself suggests him to be fully conscious of his losses, his account is riddled with self-reproaches. When he assesses his decision to be a writer, he decries it as having resulted from a combination of 'la vanidad y una reseña elogiosa de un amigo de aquella época' (*Soldados*: 17) ['vanity and an enthusiastic review written by a friend from those days' (*Soldiers*: 3)]. Appraising his previously published collection of stories and a novel, he claims both were received with 'notoria indiferencia' (17) ['glaring indifference' (3)]. Charting the progress of his career, he asserts 'no había acabado de arrancar nunca' (17) ['(it) had never actually got started' (3)]. His ironic account of his return to the newspaper where he had previously worked is similarly self-deprecating. He concludes the paper had given him his job back because nobody else would do it 'por un sueldo tan exiguo como el mío' (*Soldados*: 18) ['for a salary as meagre as mine' (*Soldiers*: 4)]. Moreover, we learn: '[s]e me adscribió a la sección de cultura, que es donde se adscribe a la gente a la que no se sabe dónde adscribir' (*Soldados*: 18) ['(t)hey assigned me to the culture section, which is where they put people they don't know what to do with' (*Soldiers*: 4)].

In the light of Freudian theory I suggest the narrator's apparent recognition of his losses not only represent a state of mourning, but also one of melancholia. Although his remarks have an ironic and whimsical tone, they signal a marked decrease in self-regard indicative of a melancholic 'open wound' (Freud 1917: 253). While evidently conscious of '*whom* he has lost' — he is clearly aware his misery is linked to his father's death and wife's departure along with his lack of success as a novelist — his

[95] Hereafter, all references to the text are abbreviated to '*Soldados*'.
[96] Hereafter, all references to the English translation are abbreviated to '*Soldiers*'.

discourse does not, I suggest, truly describe '*what* he has lost in him' (245, italics in original).

Although the narrator's losses are of a personal nature, I contend that his subjective account, which does not consciously recognise the truth — or kernel — of his loss(es), simulates the melancholia created by the Transition's culture of disremembrance of the memory of the civil war. The melancholy thus represents a blockage of mourning and a traumatic memory: as explained at the start of the chapter, since a traumatic experience bypasses conscious recognition it innately stops mourning (Schwab 2006: 99). But in lieu of a personal traumatic experience, the narrator's melancholy stems from and symbolises the notion of forgetting the recent past which pervaded the Spanish Transition.

The narrator's lack of knowledge of recent history resounds in his commemorative newspaper article for the sixtieth anniversary of the end of the civil war. Although he writes about the death of Antonio Machado shortly before the end of the war and compares Antonio's wartime location with that of his brother Manuel, the narrator makes no distinction between their different geographical, hence ideological, positions. He writes:

> A Manuel la sublevación del 18 de Julio le sorprendió en Burgos, zona rebelde; a Antonio, en Madrid, zona republicana. Es razonable suponer que, de haber estado en Madrid, Manuel hubiera sido fiel a la República; tal vez sea ocioso preguntarse qué hubiera ocurrido si Antonio llega a estar en Burgos. (*Soldados*: 25)
>
> [The uprising of 18 July had caught Manuel in Burgos, rebel territory; Antonio, in Madrid, Republican territory. It is reasonable to assume that had he been in Madrid, Manuel would have been loyal to the Republic; it would perhaps be idle to speculate what might have happened if Antonio had chanced to be in Burgos. (*Soldiers*: 11)]

The suggestion that the Machado brothers' locations were straightforwardly interchangeable draws the narrator as oblivious to the actual history of the civil war. The random exchange of their very different histories recalls the Transition's inscription of the war 'as a *guerra fratricida* (a war between brothers)', which left 'the location of

responsibility […] deliberately unspecified' (Richards 2006: 88). In reality, as Ana Luengo points out, whereas Antonio Machado was identified with the Republican cause, Manuel Machado wrote 'poemas de propaganda para el régimen franquista' ['propaganda poems for the Francoist regime' (My translation)] (Luengo 2004: 242).[97] The article reflects the notion of the war as a collective traumatic memory, which affected all Spaniards equally, their political persuasions notwithstanding.[98] *Soldados de Salamina* thus represents the "pacto del olvido" as having permeated through civil society into the level of individual memory.[99]

The disremembrance of the memory of the civil war is reflected in the narrator's lack of familial memory. Although we are given a sketch of his family background from the outset — 'mi padre había muerto […] mi mujer me había abandonado' (*Soldados*: 17) ['my father had died; (…) my wife had left me' (*Soldiers*: 3)] — no details are later filled in. Except for his new girlfriend Conchi, his family is figured as absent. In this respect, the narrator is similar to survivors of major trauma who have no or very few remaining family members, for instance, the Holocaust. For such survivors, their identity is strongly linked to the collective memory of the traumatic event.

However, in lieu of a direct traumatic experience, *Soldados de Salamina* suggests that the narrator has been affected by his inherited lack of history. The narrator was born in 1954: when he is told the story of Sánchez Mazas' escape from execution in the civil war in 1994 he 'acababa de cumplir cuarenta años' (*Soldados*: 18) ['(had) just turned forty' (*Soldiers*: 4)]. The narrator would have experienced neither the civil war nor the intense Francoist repression of the 1940s. But as a member of the generation that was born about fifteen years after the end of the war on 1 April, 1939, he would have grown up amid the Francoist distortion of Spanish history. As discussed in the Introduction, the Franco regime depicted the civil war as an imperial-style conquest of the Republican 'other' linked to Spain's former colonial power. The inscription of the war as an imperial triumph sought to create a national memory, which would bring Spaniards together under the supposed aegis of Francoism. Rather than merely defeated, the Republicans were portrayed as antithetical to Spain. The 'official language' referred

[97] For an elaboration of Manuel Machado's stance leading up to and during the war see Luengo 2004: n. 3, p. 242.
[98] For an alternative view of the Machado article see Grohmann 2005: 308 and 314.
[99] In a conversation with the director of the film of *Soldados de Salamina*, David Trueba, Javier Cercas commented the "pacto del olvido" was 'un tema quizá subliminal de la novela, pero, a mi modo de ver, capital' ['perhaps a subliminal theme of the novel, but, to my way of seeing, key'] (Cercas and Trueba 2003: 128).

only to '"victors" and "vanquished", "good Spaniards" and "bad Spaniards", "patriots" and "traitors"' (Preston 1995: 37).

In the sense of having inherited a distorted past, the narrator is similar to Javier Cercas, the author of *Soldados de Salamina*. As discussed in the Introduction, like all of the authors of the novels in the thesis, Cercas, who was born in 1962, did not experience the civil war directly, but grew up under Francoism in the generations after. The author Antonio Muñoz Molina, who was born in 1956, is approximately the same generation (Ferrán 2007: 225). In an article "La invención de un pasado" Muñoz Molina has indicated that in order to accomplish a better future 'the first step his generation needed to take […] was to investigate, uncover, even *invent* a past that was different from the one the Franco regime presented as they were growing up' (Ferrán 2007: 227, italics in original). Muñoz Molina remarks:

> Los españoles, al menos los que nacimos y nos formamos después de la guerra civil, hemos vivido la paradoja de no poder o no saber vincularnos a nuestro propio pasado intelectual y político en un país regido por la preponderancia fósil del pasado. Para nosotros la palabra tradición sólo podía significar oscurantismo e ignorancia, del mismo modo que las palabras patria o patriotismo significaba exclusivamente dictadura. El pasado era embustero, desconocido o repugnante: algunos de nosotros hemos dedicado una parte de las mejores energías de nuestra vida adulta a reconstruir otro pasado, a inventarlo, del mismo modo que a falta de una tradición literaria hemos tenido que inventárnosla, y en los mismos tiempos en que todos nosotros estamos intentando inventar un país. (1998: 202, cited in Ferrán 2007: 228)

> [Spaniards, at least those of us born and educated after the civil war, have lived the paradox of not being able, or not knowing how, to connect with our own intellectual and political past in a country dominated by the fossilized preponderance of the past. For us, the word tradition could only mean obscurantism and ignorance, in the same way that the words homeland or patriotism exclusively meant dictatorship. *The past was a lie, unknown or repugnant*: some of us have dedicated a great part of our energy as adults to reconstructing another past, to inventing it, in the same way that, due to the lack

> of a literary tradition, we have had to invent it, and all this at the same time as we are all trying to invent a new country. (Ferrán's translation, italics added)]

Soldados de Salamina mirrors Muñoz Molina's reflections about the generation after the civil war. However, the lack of knowledge about the memory of the civil war also pertains to younger generations. As we saw in the Introduction, the inter-generational silence around the memory of the civil war was not limited to the Franco era. Rather, the disremembrance of the recent past in the Transition — encapsulated by the so-called "pacto del olvido" — meant that the silence persisted into the following generations.

Cercas's novel reflects the resurgence of interest in the war amongst contemporary generations of Spaniards since around 1998. But the novel also helped further that interest. Isabel Estrada has discussed how the tremendous popular success of the national television series, '*Cuéntame cómo pasó*' ['Tell me how it happened'], which has attained audiences of more than seven million, is attributable to its prime time broadcast slot but also the inter-generational character of its content and target audience (2004: 548). Estrada links young people's interest in the series to their scant knowledge of the history of Spain from the time of the civil war onwards, particularly the latter years of Francoism:

> En 2001, existe una generación de españoles que sabe poco de la guerra y la dictadura, que desconoce los últimos años del franquismo representados en *Cuéntame*. Por ello a los jóvenes les interesa la serie por la época en la que sus padres tenían la misma edad, época silenciada por el polémico "pacto del olvido" durante la transición democrática. (2004: 548)

> [In 2001, there was a generation of Spaniards that knew little about the war and the dictatorship, who were unaware of the last years of Francoism represented in *Cuéntame*. The young people's interest in the series is thus in the era in which their parents were the same age, the era silenced by the controversial "pacto del olvido" during the democratic transition. (My translation)]

Estrada suggests '[e]l llamado "fenómeno Cercas"' ['the so-called "Cercas phenomenon"'] can be explained for the same reasons (2004: n. 2, p. 548). In a talk at

Barnard College, New York, Javier Cercas attributed the success of *Soldados de Salamina* to 'la curiosidad por la guerra civil entre la generación de jóvenes que no ha tenido contacto directo con supervivientes del conflicto ni aquéllos que vivieron la posguerra' ['the curiosity about the civil war amongst the generation of young people which did not have direct contact with the survivors of the conflict nor those who lived through the post-war' (My translation)] (Cercas, 1 October 2003, cited in Estrada 2004: n. 2, p. 548).

A personal reproduction of a public disremembrance

The narrative about Rafael Sánchez Mazas also chimes with the Transition's collective memory — that is, its disremembrance — of the recent past. The biographical account only gives us part of the picture. In spite of the narrator's insistent identification of it as a 'relato real' (*Soldados*: 52 and 74) ['true tale' (*Soldiers*: 40 and 64)], the story of Sánchez Mazas' escape from the firing squad and his encounter with an anonymous Republican soldier is charged with absence. Although it includes both sides from the civil war — and thus accords with the Transition's rendition of it as a '*guerra fratricida* (a war between brothers)' (Richards 2006: 88) — the account consistently elides the Republicans' perspective. Precisely, the language of the account incorporates — swallows, as it were — the Republican point of view.

Although the narrator partly bases his account of the historical incident on oral testimonies from the octogenarian Republicans who sheltered Sánchez Mazas — Joaquim Figueras, Maria Ferré and Daniel Angelats — he constructs their identities from the perspective of Francoism. Despite his post-interview observation that even though 'los tres sobrepasaban los ochenta años […] conservaban una buena memoria de su encuentro con Sánchez Mazas y de las circunstancias que lo rodearon, como si aquél hubiera sido un hecho determinante en sus vidas' (*Soldados*: 61) ['all three were over eighty (…) they still remembered their encounter with Sánchez Mazas and the circumstances surrounding it, as if it had been a determining moment in their lives' (*Soldiers*: 60-61)] — his story subsumes their versions of events into a singular perspective. When the Nationalist troops arrive in the Republican area at the end of the war, the account configures Sánchez Mazas, the Figueras brothers and Daniel Angelats as a 'grupo [que] estalló de alegría' (*Soldados*: 123) ['group (which) erupted with joy' (*Soldiers*: 116)], as if they were all on the same side. The text implies them to have undergone a collective traumatic experience, which is equally at an end.

The narrator's story of the historical event reproduces, then, the Transition's notion of the memory of the civil war. The personal reproduction of the public disremembrance of historical memory evidences the widespread acceptance of the "pacto del olvido" in civil society and the interlinked notion of the war as a collective traumatic memory. *Soldados de Salamina* thus characterises the public memory of the war as having permeated the private sphere and also become accepted within it.

Later, as Sánchez Mazas thanks the Republicans for having helped him keep hidden, we learn:

> [F]ue en ese momento cuando […] Sánchez Mazas pronunció por vez primera unas palabras que iba a repetir muchas veces en los años que siguieron y que hasta el final de sus vidas resonarían en la memoria de los muchachos que lo ayudaron a sobrevivir con un tintineo aventurero de contraseña secreta. <<Los amigos del bosque>>. (*Soldados*: 124)
>
> [It was at this moment when (…) Sánchez Mazas pronounced, for the first time, the words he would repeat many times in the years to come and that until the ends of their lives would resonate in the memories of the lads who helped him survive, the words that had the adventurous ring of a secret password: 'The forest friends'. (*Soldiers*: 117)]

The description of the Republicans as 'Los amigos del bosque' ['The forest friends'] recourses to a Francoist metaphor. After the war, Franco would often describe Spain 'as a peaceful forest' thus presenting a picture at odds with the truth (Pavlović 2003: 76). The effective disappearance of the Republican viewpoint imbricates the narrator's unconscious incorporation of his loss — that is, his state of melancholy — with the historical memory of the Republican constituency. In the light of Abraham and Torok's theory of melancholia as a fantasy of incorporation, the implication that the Republicans have the same historical outlook as Sánchez Mazas, and the connotation of 'un tintineo aventurero de contraseña secreta' ['the adventurous ring of a secret password'], which covertly connects them together, signifies his incorporated loss as a 'gap' within his psyche (Abraham and Torok 1972: 125). The overt textual identification with Sánchez Mazas, and the attendant privileging of his viewpoint, covers and conceals the potential articulation of the narrator's historical loss. In

maintaining the loss as unspoken, the biographical account defines and records it as 'radically unnameable' (Butler 1990: 68). The biographical account literally reproduces, then, the "pacto del olvido" about the recent past. In short, the — his — loss is linguistically "disappeared".[100] The narrator's story, and thus of course the novel, tells us he has not introjected the loss (Abraham and Torok 1972: 127). In not being articulated in language, the loss has been left unmourned (127).

I contend that by way of negation the biographical account linguistically entombs the narrator's identification with a Republican past. In view of Judith Butler's development of Freud's theory of melancholia, the text tells us the narrator has internalised a cultural prohibition about recognising Republican loss (Butler 1997: 139). The novel reflects, then, the social and cultural effects of the "pacto del olvido". *Soldados de Salamina* shows the Transition as having prohibited the avowal of grief for the loss of Republican historical memory and accordingly Republican identity.

We could thus say that the figuration of the Republicans from Sánchez Mazas' point of view, and the concomitant subsumption of their historical and cultural alterity, draws the "pacto del olvido" and the notion of a collective traumatic past as in a sense indirectly reproducing the cultural repression which occurred under Francoism. *Soldados de Salamina* represents, then, the "pacto del olvido" as an injury to, or precisely within, the Transition's society and culture. As set out in the Introduction, the Transition involved a much celebrated and demonstrable rapid progression into cultural modernity (Labanyi 2007: 94). There was a shooting forward from the recent past. In spite of this shift, through its retrospective replication of a dominant cultural order the novel draws the historical exclusion of the culturally other view as still extant when it was written in 2001.

The biographical account also links to Paul Gilroy's concept of "post-colonial" or "postimperial melancholia". As we saw earlier, the political and psychic rupture with the memory of the civil war and Francoist past extended to Spain's imperial and colonial history. Consequently, just as contemporary generations of Spaniards had little knowledge of the memory of the civil war, they were unaware of their country's history as an imperial and colonial power. In *Soldados de Salamina* the narrator's textual identification with Sánchez Mazas and the focus on his viewpoint illustrates the idea of 'lingering', if mostly unstated, 'colonial relationships and imperial fantasies' (Gilroy

[100] I explain this term in the next chapter.

2004: 109). The novel thus indicates that Spain has not worked through its imperial and colonial past.

The seeming victimhood of a victor

The biographical account also represents Sánchez Mazas as an innocent victim of the civil war. Although we are given a detailed factual history of his role as a Falangist, after his escape from the firing squad and the encounter with the anonymous Republican soldier he is figured as simply a fugitive. We learn:

> Durante nueves días con sus noches del invierno brutal de 1939 Rafael Sánchez Mazas anduvo vagando por la comarca de Banyoles tratando de cruzar las líneas del ejército republicano en retirada y pasar a la zona nacional. […] Las tres primeras jornadas fueron terribles. Dormía de día y caminaba de noche, evitando la publicidad de las carreteras y los pueblos, mendigando alimento y refugio en las masías, y aunque en ninguna de ellas osó por prudencia revela su verdadera identidad, sino que se presentaba como un soldado republicano extraviado, y aunque casi todo el mundo al que se lo pedía le daba algo de comer, le permitía descansar un rato y le indicaba sin preguntas cómo seguir su camino, el miedo impidió que alguien lo acogiera bajo su protección. (*Soldados*: 104-05)
>
> [For nine days and nights of the brutal winter of 1939 Rafael Sánchez Mazas wandered through the region of Banyoles trying to cross the lines of the Republican army in retreat and pass over into the Nationalist zone. (…) The first three days were terrible. He slept during the day and walked at night, avoiding the exposure of the roads and villages, begging for food and shelter at farms, and though he prudently dared not reveal his true identity at any of them, but rather introduced himself as a lost Republican soldier, and though almost everyone he asked gave him something to eat, let him rest awhile and gave him directions without asking questions, fear kept anyone from offering him protection. (*Soldiers*: 96)]

The portrayal of Sánchez Mazas as a victim reflects the idea of the civil war as a collective traumatic memory that affected everybody alike. The observation 'osó por prudencia revela su verdadera identidad, sino que se presentaba como un soldado

republicano extraviado' ['he prudently dared not reveal his true identity (…), but rather introduced himself as a lost Republican soldier'] actuates our identification with his fugitive status and aligns his experience with that of the endangered Republicans.

Robert C. Spires suggests the narrative treatment of Sánchez Mazas seems aimed at changing 'polarized views of the two sides' in the civil war (2005: 499). For Spires, the tactic of telling a story that reverses 'the role of villains and victims' as understood in 'conventional liberal views of the war' means the reader is 'encouraged to feel empathy with the fascist Sánchez Mazas' (499). Spires claims that the privileging of Sánchez Mazas' perspective causes 'a type of depolarization that forces readers to reassess their views of the two sides of the conflict', which places the novel 'within the discursive currents of the new Spain' (499). In my view, the representation of Sánchez Mazas as a victim does partly evoke an empathetic response from the reader, but this is offset by the representation of the Republicans from Sánchez Mazas' point of view. Instead of causing a reassessment of the two sides of the war by the reader, the overall effect is, I suggest, both a representation and re-inscription of the erosion of Republican memory.

A kitsch reading of the death of memory

Earlier, I argued that the description of the Republicans as 'Los amigos del bosque' ['The forest friends'] recourses to a metaphor of Francoism. The figuration also has a kitsch quality, which has a bearing on the novel's representation of the loss of historical memory. In an essay on kitsch and death, Saul Friedländer has explored the 'latent discourse ruled by a profound logic' of the kitsch images which were used by the Nazis and writers and film-makers about Nazism (1993: 15).[101] As Friedländer points out, his argument pertains to the past and also the present: how the past is re-evoked 'helps us better to understand the past itself', particularly in its 'psychological' aspects, but at the same time how the past is aestheticised counter-reflects our comprehension of it in the present (17-21). Friedländer draws an important distinction between ordinary kitsch and kitsch representations of death with regard to aestheticisation. Whereas '[i]n ordinary kitsch […] the representation of reality' bears an equivalence to 'what could exist in reality', in 'a kitsch representation of death' there is an amalgamation of 'two contradictory elements […]; on the one hand, an appeal to harmony; on the other,

[101] For a discussion of the Francoist kitsch aesthetic, see Alejandro Yarza's 'The Petrified Tears of General Franco: Kitsch and Fascism in José Luis Sáenz de Heredia's *Raza*' (2004).

solitude and terror' (26-27). Kitsch aesthetic treatments work to neutralise '"extreme situations", particularly death, by turning them into some sentimental idyll' (27).

In the light of Friedländer's observation, we can see that some of the figurations in the biographical account of Sánchez Mazas are merely 'ordinary kitsch', but that others effect a neutralisation of the civil war past. The description of Maria Ferré's encounter with Sánchez Mazas, for example, constitutes 'ordinary kitsch', albeit within the context of an extreme situation: civil war. We read: 'Maria Ferré no iba a olvidar nunca el radiante amanecer de febrero en que por vez primera vio a Rafael Sánchez Mazas' (*Soldados*: 106) ['Maria Ferré would never forget the radiant February dawn she first set eyes on Rafael Sánchez Mazas' (*Soldiers*: 97)]. While the image of 'el radiante amanecer de febrero' ['the radiant February dawn'] is resoundingly kitsch, it also accords with reality. A February dawn could indeed be radiant, as Friedländer might say (1993: 27). But Sánchez Mazas' description of the Republicans with whom he hid — the Figueras brothers and Daniel Angelats — as 'Los amigos del bosque' enacts a neutralisation of the civil war past. The kitsch metaphor joins the evocation of a sentimental idyllic history to a representation of war. Precisely, the idea of the Republicans as 'Los amigos del bosque' neutralises the death of Republican memory in the account of Sánchez Mazas' past. The image jars with historical reality.

Crucially, the kitsch quality of the aestheticisation also underscores Sánchez Mazas' actual historical role. As the account tells us, after helping found the Falange, Sánchez Mazas became its 'principal ideólogo y propagandista […] uno de los fundamental forjadores de su retórica y sus símbolos' (*Soldados*: 83) ['principal ideologue and propagandist (…) one of the fundamental forgers of its rhetoric and symbols' (*Soldiers*: 74)]. In shining a light on the past, the novel enlightens us about the present. The kitsch narrative of the Francoist past, and its linked portrayal of Sánchez Mazas as a victim alongside the Republicans, signals the continuing existence of a discourse of Francoism in post-Transition Spain.

A manic reconstruction

When the narrator finishes his biographical account of Sánchez Mazas he seems to have recovered from the earlier loss of his literary career. In lieu of 'tres novelas inacabadas' (*Soldados*: 17) ['three unfinished novels' (*Soldiers*: 3)] he completes his work, and quickly. His apparent full recovery seems confirmed by his speedy production. He dedicates himself to his writing and finishes long before his period of leave from his job

at the newspaper expires. But though he reads his book 'eufórico' (*Soldados*: 144) ['euphorically' (*Soldiers*: 138)] his triumph is short-lived. While the biographical account is finished, it strikes him as incomplete. We learn:

> El libro no era malo, sino insuficiente, como un mecanismo completo pero incapaz de desempeñar la función para la que ha sido ideado porque le falta una pieza. (*Soldados*: 144)
>
> [The book wasn't bad, but insufficient, like a mechanism that was whole, yet incapable of performing the function for which it had been devised because it was missing a part. (*Soldiers*: 138)]

The idea of the book being unable to fulfil its purpose 'porque le falta una pieza' (*Soldados*: 144) ['because it was missing a part' (*Soldiers*: 138)] reflects the Transition as historically and thus culturally flawed as in the diagnosis of Teresa Vilarós. The image of the missing part fictionally represents a dropped stitch in the fabric of the Transition's historical narrative: in other words, one of what Vilarós terms the 'puntos desplazados' ['displaced spots'] on the Spanish historical and thus cultural body (1998: 7). The absent piece relates, then, to 'las rupturas de la narrativa histórica' ['the ruptures of the historical narrative'] (Vilarós 1998: 7), or what Michel de Certeau would refer to as 'lapses in the syntax constructed by the law of a place' (1988: 4). Cercas's novel thus signals the historical move from the era of Francoism to post-Francoism as having been far from seamless (Vilarós 1998: 7).

Shortly afterwards, the narrator falls into a state of depression as previously. He tells us:

> Pasé las dos semanas siguientes sentado en un sillón, frente al televisor apagado. Que yo recuerde, no pensaba en nada, ni siquiera en mi padre; tampoco en mi primera mujer. (*Soldados*: 144)
>
> [I spent the next two weeks sitting in an armchair in front of the television without turning it on. As far as I remember, I didn't think about anything, not even about my father, not even my ex-wife. (*Soldiers*: 138)]

Following Freud's theory of melancholia, the narrator's relapse into depression retrospectively signals his accelerated production of his account as mania. Thus, it figures his writing of the memory of Sánchez Mazas — and, critically, his reading of the civil war past — as a rapidly administered psychic bandage. As we saw at the start of the chapter, while mania is the opposite of melancholy in its affect, at base, it symbolises melancholia in another form (Freud 1917: 253-54). However, the shorter length of the second depression — 'dos semanas' ['two weeks'] instead of 'dos meses' (*Soldados*: 17) ['two (…) months' (*Soldiers*: 3)] — and the fact that it is less tearful than before — '[l]loraba poco' (*Soldados*: 144) ['I didn't cry too much' (*Soldiers*: 139), we learn — suggests the narrator has started working through the memory of the civil war. By means of the process of writing he has, then, begun to integrate the wound of the Transition into discourse by representing its memory.

The dual aspect of the Transition

Following Conchi's advice, the narrator returns to his post as a journalist at the newspaper. He is assigned the task of interviewing well-known immigrants to the region and meets Roberto Bolaño, a Chilean author living locally. Bolaño tells him the story of Miralles, one of a group of defeated Republican soldiers who went on to fight in the Second World War and play a substantive role in the defeat of fascism and Nazism. After hearing the story, the narrator instantly realises he wants to write it. He cannot sleep for thinking about it. In the middle of the night, he decides Miralles was the anonymous Republican soldier who encountered Rafael Sánchez Mazas in the civil war but did not turn him in and thus 'la pieza que faltaba' ['the missing part'] of his recently written story (*Soldados*: 165 [*Soldiers*: 160]). We read: 'Y en aquel momento, con la engañosa pero aplastante lucidez del insomnio, […] me oí murmurar en el silencio sin luz del dormitorio: <<Es él>>.' (*Soldados*: 165) ['And at that moment, with the deceptive but overwhelming clarity of insomnia, […] I heard myself murmur, in the pitch-black silence of the bedroom: "It's him."' (*Soldiers*: 160)].

In the light of Freudian theory, the idea of the narrator identifying 'la pieza que faltaba' ['the missing part'] of his narrative in a period of insomnia reflects the notion of a melancholic 'open wound' (1917: 253). Sleeplessness frequently results from melancholy, since the complex 'can easily prove resistant to the ego's wish to sleep' (253).

To verify his idea of Miralles as the anonymous soldier, the narrator devotes himself to finding him. With Conchi's aid, he eventually locates Miralles in an old people's home in Dijon. He travels there to meet him. When the narrator sees the Republican veteran, he recognises him by dint of the injury that he suffered in the Second World War. We learn: 'una cicatriz le arrancaba en la sien, seguía por el pómulo, la mejilla y la mandíbula, bajaba por el cuello y se perdía por la pelambre que afloraba de su camisa gris, de franela. Al instante supe que era Miralles' (*Soldados*: 182) ['a scar began at his temple, crossed his cheek, his jaw, went down his neck and disappeared under the fleece of his grey flannel shirt. I knew he was Miralles straightaway' (*Soldiers*: 179)]. Shortly after, we find that the wound is only to one side of Miralles' face. The narrator recounts:

> Incorporándose un poco volvió hacia mí su corpachón de gladiador encogido por la vejez y me examinó con unos ojos verdes, curiosamente dispares: el derecho, inexpresivo y entrecerrado por la cicatriz; el izquierdo muy abierto e inquisitivo, casi irónico. Entonces advertí que el aspecto pétreo que había atribuido de entrada al rostro de Miralles solo valía para la mitad devastada por la cicatriz; la otra era viva, vehemente. Por un momento pensé que era como si dos personas convivieran en un mismo cuerpo. (*Soldados*: 184)
>
> [Sitting up a little he turned his big, age-shrunken gladiator's body towards me and examined me with a pair of green eyes, which were strangely unmatched: the right, inexpressive and half-closed by the scar; the left wide open and inquisitive, almost ironic. I then realized that my initial impression of Miralles' face as petrified was only true for the side devastated by the scar; the other was vital, vehemently so. For a moment I thought it was like two people living together in the same body.] (*Soldiers*: 181)

Although Miralles' disfigurement is plain to see, I suggest the image of his half-scarred countenance embodies the existence of Spain's unconsciously held historical losses. The name Miralles has the same root as the Catalan word for mirror — "mirall" — and thus the narrator's encounter with the Republican veteran reflects the narrator back to himself. The reflection illuminates, then, the Spanish Transition (as we saw earlier, the narrator is a product of the Transition). Miralles' divided appearance recalls

Vilarós's characterisation of Transitional Spain as a time and a place 'que si bien permite por un lado iniciar en el posfranquismo una nueva escritura, agazapa en su seno todo un pasado conflictivo que el colectivo "pacto del olvido" reprimió' ['which if it on the one hand allows the first steps of a new writing in post-Francoism, on the other crouches in its heart a whole conflictive past which the collective "pact of oblivion" had repressed'] (1998: 20). The fictional representation figures, then, the historical reality of the Transition. At root, I suggest, the narrator's meeting with Miralles represents what Vilarós would term 'una entrada al otro lado del espejo histórico' ['an entrance to the other side of the historical mirror'] and thus a discourse of alterity (20).[102]

Melancholy becomes mourning

When the narrator talks to the Republican veteran he learns about the forgotten young men who died fighting with him in the civil war and the Second World War. Miralles says to the narrator:

> Nadie se acuerda de ellos, ¿sabe? Nadie. Nadie se acuerda siquiera de por qué murieron, de por qué no tuvieron mujer e hijos y una habitación con sol; nadie, y, menos que nadie, la gente por la que pelearon. No hay ni va a haber nunca ninguna calle miserable de ningún pueblo miserable de ninguna mierda de país que vaya a llevar nunca el nombre de ninguno de ellos. […] Ah, pero yo me acuerdo, vaya se me acuerdo, me acuerdo de todos, de Lela y Joan y de Gabi y de Odena y de Pipo y de Brugada y de Gudayol, no sé por qué lo hago pero lo hago, no pasa un solo día sin que piense en ellos. (*Soldados*: 200-01)
>
> [Nobody remembers them, you know? Nobody. Nobody even remembers why they died, why they didn't have a wife and children and a sunny room; nobody remembers, least of all, those they fought for. There's no lousy street in any lousy town in any fucking country named after any of them, nor will there ever be. (…) Oh, but I remember, I do remember, I remember them all, Lela and Joan

[102] For Mallorquí-Ruscalleda, Miralles' countenance underscores the ethical character of the novel, as it is a metaphor for Levinas's concept of 'la identificatión que establece entre el Otro con "el Rostro"' ['the identification that is established with the Other with the "face"'] (2014: 264). Despite being illustrated here as such, "el Rostro" ["the face"] does not mean 'la cara' ['the face'] but 'la huella del Otro' ['the trace of the Other'] and their "presencia viva" ["living presence"] (264).

and Gabi and Odena and Pipo and Brugada and Gudayol, I don't know why I do but I do, not a single day goes by that I don't think of them.] (*Soldiers*: 199)

Miralles' articulation of his memories of his dead companions exemplifies the movement of melancholia into mourning. The angry tone of Miralles' statement and the fact that he thinks about those who fought with him every day are suggestive of a melancholic 'open wound' (Freud 1917: 253). The novel characterises the Republican veteran as haunted by his personal past. But the fact that Miralles is acutely aware of his losses — his memories, indeed — shows they are not obscured in his personal consciousness. *Soldados de Salamina* demonstrates, then, the imbrication of melancholia in mourning: the novel represents a process of private mourning or working through the memory of the civil war.

Miralles' recollections overtly symbolise the trans-generational transmission of unrecognised memories of the civil war. He prefigures his speech with: 'Pero le voy a contar una cosa que usted no sabe, una cosa de la guerra' (*Soldados*: 199) ['I'm going to tell you something you don't know, something about the war' (*Soldiers*: 197)]. *Soldados de Salamina* seeks, then, to address the lack of knowledge about the memory of the war amongst young generations of Spaniards. However, the novel's re-shaping of the collective memory of the civil war also places it in a European context. The young Spaniards Miralles remembers fought in the civil war and also the Second World War. We learn: 'Hicimos la guerra juntos; las dos: la nuestra y la otra, aunque las dos eran la misma' (*Soldados*: 199-200) ['We fought the war together, both wars, ours and the other one, though they were both the same one' (*Soldiers*: 198)].

Miralles' melancholia not only represents a personal memory, but also links to the public sphere. The melancholy embodies what Vilarós has described as 'la cara oscura de la fisura transicional, la profunda herida sufrida por el inconsciente colectivo español' ['the dark face of the transitional fissure, the deep wound suffered by the (…) Spanish collective unconscious'] (1998: 20). But the veteran's outpouring of memories of his forgotten comrades-in-arms bursts through the symbolic sphere. The emergence of the names are what Vilarós would term the 'puntos desplazados' ['displaced spots'] on the Spanish historical/cultural body (1998: 7). Cercas's novel represents, then, what de Certeau would define as an historical 'return of the repressed' (1988: 4). *Soldados de Salamina* exemplifies a re-emergence of that which the Spanish Transition rendered

'unthinkable' so that 'a new identity' could be made 'thinkable' for Spain: the repressed memories of the civil war (4).

Miralles' saying of the names of the forgotten young men reflects the idea of melancholia having 'cultural dimensions of contemporary consequence' (Butler 1997: 139, cited in Forter 2003: 141). The novel provides a place for 'public recognition […] [and] discourse', whereby the Republican losses can be both 'named and mourned' (139, cited in Forter 2003: 141). *Soldados de Salamina* performs, then, a public act of mourning for the memories of the civil war. The writing of the names of the Republican dead inscribes their loss in collective cultural consciousness. The novel thus represents the healing of the melancholic 'open wound' of the Spanish Transition. In bringing the unconscious memories of the civil war into the collective imaginary, the text enacts a repair to the symbolic order, and contributes to the construction of a collective cultural memory of the civil war. Cercas's novel is a work of mourning that symbolises the emergence of individual, private memories of the civil war into the public sphere after around 1998. Indeed, *Soldados de Salamina* played a prominent role in the resurgence of Republican memory in Spanish public discourse. The novel had a striking impact in Spain, selling over '350,000 copies' within two years of its publication in 2001 (Graham 2004: n. 11, p. 326).

After concluding his interview with Miralles, the narrator returns to Spain on the sleeper train. Seated on the moving train, alongside his own reflection he finally sees his book. We read:

> Y allí, sentado en la mullida butaca de color calabaza del vagón restaurante, acunado por el traqueteo del tren y el torbellino de palabras que giraba sin pausa en mi cabeza, con el bullicio del los comensales cenando a mi alrededor y con mi whisky casi vacío delante, y en el ventanal, a mi lado, la imagen ajena de un hombre entristecido que no podía ser yo pero era yo, allí vi de golpe mi libro, el libro que desde hacía años venía persiguiendo, lo vi entero, acabado, desde el principio hasta el final, desde la primera hasta la última línea. (*Soldados*: 208)

> [And there, sitting in the soft pumpkin-coloured seat in the restaurant car, rocked by the clattering of the train and the whirlwind of words spinning round unceasingly in my head, with the bustle of passengers dining around me and my almost empty glass of whisky in front of me, and in the window, beside me, the

> distant image of a sad man who couldn't be me but was me, there I suddenly saw my book, the book I'd been after for years, I saw it there in its entirety, finished, from the first line to the last. (*Soldiers*: 207)]

The mirrored image of the finished book merges it with the narrator and thus of course the novel we are reading. In the end, the novel shows the narrator is the historical tale he tells.[103] Cercas's novel thus reflects itself as a fictional testimony to the memory of the civil war. Yet despite his perception of his finished story, *Soldados de Salamina* does not suggest the past as closed. Shortly after, on the final page we learn:

> Vi mi libro entero y verdadero, mi relato real completo, y supe que ya solo tenía que escribirlo, pasarlo a limpio porque estaba en mi cabeza desde el principio (<<Fue en el verano de 1994, hace ahora más de seis años, cuando oí hablar por primera vez del fusilamiento de Rafael Sánchez Mazas>>) hasta el final. (*Soldados*: 209)
>
> [I saw my book, whole and real, my completed, true tale, and knew that now I only had to write it, put it down on paper because it was in my head from start ('It was the summer of 1994, more than six years ago now, when I first heard about Rafael Sánchez Mazas facing the firing squad') to finish. (*Soldiers*: 208)]

The end of the to-be-written story thus returns us to the beginning of the novel. The narrative is both linear and circular: although the novel has been written, it remains to be written again. *Soldados de Salamina* does not represent, then, the closure of memories of the civil war. While the previously unconscious losses have been made conscious, the text tells us that, still, they have to be integrated.

Moreover, although the text is now in mourning, it registers a residual note of melancholy. When the narrator sees his image in the window again it alters into a picture of Miralles. As the narrative changes into the third person the textual reflection emerges out of the novel. We read:

[103] On this point, see also Amago 2006: 162.

> [E]l periodista mira su reflejo entristecido y viejo en el ventanal que lame la noche hasta que lentamente el reflejo se disuelve y en el ventanal aparece un desierto interminable y ardiente y un soldado solo, llevando la bandera de un país que no es su país, de un país que es todos los países y que sólo existe porque ese soldado levanta su bandera abolida, joven, desharrapado, polvoriento y anónimo, infinitamente minúsculo en aquel mar llameante de arena infinita, caminando hacia delante bajo el sol negro del ventanal. (*Soldados*: 209)
>
> [(T)he journalist watches his sad, aged reflection in the window licked by the night until slowly the reflection dissolves and in the window appears an endless and burning desert and a lone soldier, carrying the flag of a country not his own, of a country that is all countries and only exists because that soldier raises its abolished flag; young, ragged, dusty and anonymous, infinitely tiny in that blazing sea of infinite sand, walking onwards beneath the black sun of the window. (*Soldiers*: 208)]

Through the description of the narrator watching his 'reflejo entristecido y viejo' ['sad, aged reflection'] and Miralles walking below 'el sol negro del ventanal' ['the black sun of the window'], which recalls Julia Kristeva's iconic image of melancholy (1989), the text tells us that the memory of the civil war has marked Spain with a melancholic residue. The image of 'el sol negro' symbolises what Khanna would describe as 'the inassimilable remainder' of melancholia (2003: 25). It thus illustrates the novel as an ethical reading of memory. The imagined image of Miralles refracts the narrator's new-found identification with the Republican legacy. While the losses have finally been recognised, the future appears tinged by a melancholic hue.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have highlighted how *Soldados de Salamina* demonstrates the cultural significance of melancholia, along with its imbrication in mourning. I have argued that Cercas's novel shows how the collective disremembrance of the civil war and Francoist past in the Spanish Transition percolated into the level of individual memory. In particular, I have established how the kitsch aesthetics of the biographical account of the Falangist Rafael Sánchez Mazas illustrate the continuing existence of a Francoist discourse in post-Transitional Spain.

I have argued that the narrator's encounter with the half-scarred Republican veteran Miralles reflects the notion of the unconscious wound of the Spanish Transition, but also initiates a discourse of alterity. Through the articulation of Miralles' individual losses and their textual inscription, the novel performs, I have shown, a political and public act of mourning for the Republican memories of the civil war. *Soldados de Salamina* thus enacts a repair to the collective imaginary that symbolises the resurgence of private memories of the civil war and Franco era in the public sphere from around 1998.

I have emphasized that the novel represents the return of the repressed memories of the civil war, along with their trans-generational transmission and imbrication in pan-European memory debates. Thus, I have demonstrated, *Soldados de Salamina* contributes to the production of a collective cultural memory of the civil war. But while the novel exemplifies the progression of melancholia into mourning I have argued that it does not suggest the memories of Spain's civil war and Francoist past as closed. *Soldados de Salamina* produces an ethical reading of memory for contemporary generations, both now and in the future.

Chapter Three
History as hauntology in *El lápiz del carpintero* [*The Carpenter's Pencil*] (1998) by Manuel Rivas

Introduction

This chapter returns to the subjects of mourning and melancholia, and investigates their imbrication in spectral legacies. Focusing on Jacques Derrida's philosophical concept of hauntology, the idea of the spectre that is absent yet present, I apply Derrida's conceptualisation of history as hauntology to the erosion of Republican memory under the Franco regime and the disremembrance of the civil war and Francoist past in the Spanish Transition. In the light of Derrida's theory, I explore Manuel Rivas's *El lápiz del carpintero* [*The Carpenter's Pencil*] (1998) and show how the spectre of the Republican painter executed by Herbal the Nationalist guard simultaneously represents the expulsion and return of Republican historical and cultural otherness.

As set out in the Introduction, after the civil war, 1936-39, Republican history was twice rendered spectral in the public sphere. It was firstly eroded by the Franco regime's promotion of the conflict as an imperial conquest. For the thirty-six-years of the dictatorship the memories and identity of the former Republican constituency were prohibited from public expression, Spain's rapid economic and social modernization in the 1960s notwithstanding. When Franco died in 1975 the transition to democracy seemed as if it would enable the re-assimilation of Republican history and memory into the public arena. But under the terms of the political amnesty and the imbricated tacit agreement to disremember Spain's Francoist legacy — the so-called "pacto del olvido" — the Republican past was again excluded from public consciousness.

As emphasized in the Introduction, the Transition was based on a political and psychic rupture with the memory of the civil war and Francoist past. The unspoken agreement to forget the past, which was linked to a "master narrative" of "reconciliación nacional" ["national reconciliation"], was applied to the whole of Spain's recent history. Neither the Republican nor Francoist legacies were, then, openly recognised. Although the "pacto del olvido" was agreed at a political level, it was accepted throughout civil society. It took the form of an active disremembrance of the recent past and was seemingly validated by a spectacular cultural "master narrative" of

accelerated modernity/postmodernity. But the fact that the past needed to be consciously forgotten suggested that as in Derrida's theory of hauntology the 'absent' past that had been designated 'other' to democratic Spain was very much present.

As we saw in the Introduction, once democracy had seemingly become permanent, the "pacto del olvido" began to fracture in Spanish society. From around 1998, memories of the civil war and Francoist past started to surface within the public sphere. An initial trickle rapidly turned into a stream and then a flooding forth. The extent of the outpouring was such that it became known as a "memory boom". For more than a decade Spain was awash with oral and written testimonies and cultural works, including books, films and memoirs. Like all of the novels in the thesis, *El lápiz del carpintero* formed part of this tide. A foremost feature of the resurgence of memories was the movement to find and exhume unmarked and mass graves of the victims of the Francoist repression. These excavations gave ground for the emergence of private memories into the public sphere. Vitally, they helped to foster a process of mourning.

Drawing on Derrida's notion of history as hauntology, I argue that in *El lápiz del carpintero* the spectre of the painter which comes back to haunt Herbal represents the exclusion of the Republican past from Spain's collective memory of the civil war. I suggest the spectre is a metonym for the Republican otherness — the people, the history and culture — that was subsumed into the Francoist version of memory. Although the spectre embodies the disappearance of the Republican historical narrative, it also brings back the concept of historical and cultural otherness which was excluded under Francoism. I contend that the spectre also illustrates the effects of the artificial severance with recent history in the Spanish Transition. The return of the ghost symbolises the concept of a haunted past. At the same time I argue that it represents the revivification of the memories of the civil war and Francoist past. I show how Herbal's dialogue with the ghost illustrates the work of mourning, while its articulation of 'other' historical and cultural knowledge returns Spain's heterogeneous future. Thus, I suggest, the novel represents an ethical reading of the memories of the civil war and Francoist past after 1998. In addition, I argue that Herbal's personification of the Francoist past in the present symbolises its residues in contemporary Spain. *El lápiz del carpintero* thus puts the memory of the Spanish Civil War into a European context.

History as hauntology

In *Specters of Marx* (1994) Derrida conceptualises history as hauntology, the theory of the simultaneously present and absent spectre. In a post-Marxist and post-communist world, he sees the acknowledgement of the ghosts of the past as 'a new philosophical category appropriate to describe the status of history' (Labanyi, *Memory, trauma and reparation*: 6). Although the collapse of the Eastern European bloc at the end of the 1980s and 'the global triumph of free market economies' was heralded by some commentators as an "end of history" (Magnus and Cullenberg 1994: vii), Derrida suggests the demise of communism does not mean it is — or will be — consigned to the past as an anachronism.[104] Instead, following hauntological thinking, he posits the present of late capitalism is haunted by the history that preceded it (Derrida 1994: 4).[105] In hauntology the unrecognised figures of history form part of the present regardless of whether or how they are seen. An unacknowledged history cannot be assigned to oblivion as historicism, the writing of history as a "master narrative" designates, indeed insists. The "end of history" could only occur if all the ghosts of the past had disappeared forever and were certain never to return. But as Joan Ramon Resina points out that would make them casualties twice in succession: firstly, of the events that took place, and secondly, through their portrayal as 'definitively disremembered anachronisms' (2000: 3).

Rather than a seamless historicist narrative, Derrida's theory of hauntology conceptualises history as disjointed and existing everywhere 'in the form of the "trace"' (Labanyi, *Memory, trauma and reparation*: 6). Hauntology thus corresponds to 'the postmodern loss of belief in the "master narratives" that have governed the ways in which history has been written under modernity' (6). Inherently, hauntology ('hantologie' in French) questions the nature of being (6). The simultaneous presence and absence of the ghost circumvents ontology's 'supposition of a "metaphysics of presence"' (6). Whereas ontological thinking discards that which is not materially present in what Derrida terms 'a conjuration' (1994: 161), an exorcism or conjuring away, a spectre is innately both material and immaterial. Hauntology profoundly

[104] The popular claim that 'the end of history was at hand' (Derrida 1994: vii) was made by Francis Fukuyama in *The End of History and the Last Man* (New York: The Free Press, 1992). See also Derrida 1994: 56-57.

[105] *Specters of Marx* is Derrida's most extensive work on spectrality, but he suggests that its 'logic […] is at work, most often explicitly' in all his essays published in the preceding two decades, especially *Of Spirit: Heidegger and the Question* [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989] (Derrida 1994: n. 3, p. 178).

unsettles ontological certainty by acknowledging the presence of absence, its materiality notwithstanding. The inherent materiality/immateriality, the being-and-non-being of spectres is shown by their inability to recognise themselves when they look 'in a mirror' (156). Their lack of reflection testifies to their existence as absence and presence. The non-appearance of a spectre's image signals its embodiment of invisible history. The ghost sees itself as it has been figured, or rather not figured, that is, disfigured historically. It represents the history that has been lost or "disappeared" in the "master narratives" of modernity.[106]

Since spectres are both dead and living — effectively they are undead — it is not only unclear whether they truly exist, but also what it is they stand for, in other words, what they return (Derrida 1994: 6). The truth of the ghostly apparition cannot be proven, because it links to the departed body but is not actually the body. Although the spectre comes from the past, its body cannot be exhumed or dissected to prove its identity. In *Hamlet*, even though the ghost looks like the dead king — '"In the same figure, like the King that's dead," says Barnardo' (Act I, Scene I, cited in Derrida 1994: 11) — the veracity of its claim — '"I am thy Fathers Spirit"' (Act I, Scene IV, cited in Derrida 1994: 4 and 7) — cannot be established.[107] Thus, Derrida points out, the ghost 'can only be taken at his word' (7). Moreover, a spectre can 'always lie […] can disguise himself as a ghost, another ghost may also be passing himself off for this one' (7-8).

The spectre's existence 'beyond the ontological realm and, in that respect […] beyond proof or disproof outside […] [its] own affect-effect' (Resina 2000: 4) innately questions an empirical version of history. In their unverifiability and uncertainty, ghosts are instead similar to memory (4). For spectres to be recognised in history, thus, like memory they require both individual and collective acknowledgment. As set out in the Introduction, although memory is individually experienced, as Maurice Halbwachs showed, it is also collectively and socially made: 'individuals […] located in a specific

[106] Labanyi comments that 'the ungrammatical term "los desaparecidos" ([…] "the disappeared"), which wrongly uses "desaparecer" ["disappear"] as a transitive verb' captured the imagination during the military coups in Chile, Argentina and Uruguay during the 1970s, since 'it constructs the dead, by virtue of the fact that they have not just "disappeared" but have "been disappeared", as ghosts […] who refuse to have their presence erased but insist on returning to demand that their name be honoured' (2000: 66). In Spain, the term began to be used for 'the victims of the Francoist repression buried in unmarked graves' after the arrest of the Chilean dictator General Pinochet in 1998 (2009: 27).

[107] In his critique of *Specters of Marx* Aijaz Ahmad notes that a central issue of *Hamlet* is 'the *unreliability of account*' (1999: 106, italics in original).

group context, draw on that context to remember or recreate the past' (Coser 1992: 22). In *Hamlet*, the actuality of the ghost is verified not only by its many reappearances, but also the fact that several characters — Marcellus, Barnardo, Horatio and Hamlet — see it, and collectively grant it a social and historical context.

The spectre embodies a former physical existence as well as the ghost it now is (Derrida 1994: 10). But spectres also represent that which has been lost or extinguished, that is, the 'spirit', or rather the spirits, which were previously in the world (6). Both spectres and spirits are innately characterised by plurality: as Derrida puts it, 'there is always *more than one* of them' (8 and 13, italics in original). The heterogeneous spirits are incarnated in the coming back of the spectre, which gives them a kind of physicality:

> The specter is a paradoxical incorporation, the becoming-body, a certain phenomenal and carnal form of the spirit. It becomes, rather, some "thing" that remains difficult to name: neither soul nor body, and both one and the other. (6)

The 'spirit' can also mean 'the sense of the ghost in general' (7) — Derrida highlights that just as in English "spirit" can signify "spectre", in German *Geist* can mean *Gespenst*, in French *esprit* can mean *spectre* or *revenant* (107 and 125), while in Spanish, I would add, *espíritu* can mean *espectro* [spectre].[108] Thus, in this sense, the spirit is 'the spirit of spirits' (125). However, the spectre and the spirit are not identical (6). Rather, the spectre is essentially imbricated in the spirit (113). From the outset, in its very construction, the spectre is '*of the spirit*': it takes part 'in the latter and stems from it even as it follows it as its ghostly double' (125-26, italics in original). In its innate being/non-being, presence/absence, materiality/immateriality, visibility/ invisibility the spectre embodies the spirit which has been lost. The spirit is given 'flesh and phenomenality' in the form of the spectre, but these disappear in its very return (6). There is, then, as Derrida expresses it, 'something disappeared, departed in the apparition itself as reapparition of the departed' (6). At the same time, in its link to the spirit the spectre returns both itself and that which it comes from: its history we might

[108] Peggy Kamuf, the translator of *Specters of Marx*, remarks that the French word *revenant*, which literally means 'that which comes back', is also commonly used in English for a ghost or spectre (Derrida 1994: n. 1, p. 177).

say. Inherently, spectres thus are and bring back more than they appear to be, that is, more than their evident, empirical existence.

Hauntology questions the certainty of the present

The return of the ghost inherently questions the idea of the "end of history". Its appearance disrupts an assumed finality. Innately, hauntology conceptualises time beyond the present, in terms of the past and also the future. In ontological thinking, the certainty of the present is asserted and affirmed by the binary division between the material and immaterial, presence and absence, being and non-being, visibility and invisibility. All that which is not manifestly present is construed as 'other' to existence. But as we have seen 'the logic of the ghost' traverses the very idea of a binary divide like presence and absence (Derrida 1994: 63). The spectre gestures towards 'a thinking of the event that necessarily exceeds a binary or dialectical logic, the logic that distinguishes or opposes *effectivity* or *actuality* (either present, empirical, living — or not) and *ideality* (regulating or absolute non-presence)' (63, italics in original). The ghost or spectre thus returns to the present an 'alternative reality' (Labanyi 2000: 79): what has been and what might have been: a history that could have happened but did not, yet which at the same time has not entirely died.

Fredric Jameson explicates how hauntology — which he terms 'spectrality' (1999: 26) — does not suggest 'that ghosts exist' or even 'that the past […] is still very much alive and at work, within the living present' (39). Rather, Derrida's idea of spectres indicates that 'the living present' is hardly as 'self-sufficient' as it purports to be and that its supposed 'solidity […] might under exceptional circumstances betray us' (39). The present of global late capitalism — what Jameson refers to as 'the wealthy, sunny, gleaming world of the postmodern and the end of history' — is especially likely to be destabilised by spectres because of its innate 'repression of the past' (39-40). Hauntology is 'a new kind of concept/figure for the "past", […] for "history"' (41), which shows the present is not separate from the past or as well the future, but rather as in the phrase from *Hamlet*, 'the time is out of joint' (Act I, Scene V, cited in Derrida 1994: 3 and 20-21).

The spectre dislocates the supposed singularity of the present. It disrupts its seeming stability not just once, but repeatedly: the spirit 'figures *both* a dead man who comes back and a ghost whose expected return repeats itself, again and again' (Derrida 1994: 10, italics in original). In its coming and going the spectre or *revenant*

continuously re-enacts the disappearance of that which has been lost (in both spectre and spirit) as well as its return. Indeed, its first emergence is already a return, since 'a spectre is always a *revenant*. One cannot control its comings and goings because it *begins by coming back*' (11, italics in original). In *Hamlet*, Derrida reminds us, the ghost of the dead king has returned before the beginning of the play and its reappearance is anticipated from the outset: '*Marcellus*: "What, ha's this thing appear'd againe tonight?" Then: *Enter the Ghost, Exit the Ghost, Enter the Ghost, as before*' (*Hamlet*, Act I, Scene I, cited in Derrida 1994: 11).[109]

Ghosts embody 'the victims of history', but also the history that as it were became a victim in being pronounced as permanently deceased (Labanyi 2000: 66). But as Jameson points out the return of the spectre is not simply about reversing or cancelling the 'hegemonic or received' historical narrative by replacing it with a counter narrative (which would supposedly be a more truthful version of the past) (1999: 43). Rather, the ghost is about setting in place a new narrative, which reconfigures our conception of history as stemming from unrecognised absence as well as presence:

> The appearance of the ghost is a non-narrative event, we scarcely know whether it has really happened at all in the first place. It calls, to be sure, for a revision of the past, for the setting in place of a new narrative (in which the king was murdered and the present king was in fact his assassin [*Hamlet*]); but it does so by way of a thoroughgoing reinvention of our sense of the past altogether. (43)

The ghost is imbricated in mourning and melancholia. Its radical reworking of our idea of the past occurs in a context 'in which only mourning, and its peculiar failures and dissatisfactions — or perhaps one had better say, in which only melancholia as such — opens a vulnerable space and entry-point through which ghosts might make their appearance' (43).

As set out in the previous chapter on Cercas's *Soldados de Salamina*, a state of melancholia transpires when past losses have not been truly acknowledged and integrated in the present. Melancholia both emanates from and sustains a denial of history: a repression of past and often traumatic events. The emergence of spectres enables the transmutation of melancholia into mourning. For Derrida, ghosts need to be

[109] I have removed the brackets from this citation.

mourned to allow their recognition. Indeed, mourning is one of three elements that constitute the Derridean spectre (1994: 9). What Derrida terms the 'work of mourning' seeks 'to ontologize remains', that is, to make them evident, 'by *identifying* the bodily remains and by *localizing* the dead' (9, italics in original). The first stage of mourning depends, then, on knowledge. 'Nothing could be worse, for the work of mourning, than confusion or doubt', Derrida emphasizes: 'one *has to know* who is buried where' for mourning to take place (9, italics in original).

As discussed in the preceding chapter, for Freud, mourning allows the ghosts of the past to be laid to rest by recognising them 'precisely […] as past' (Labanyi 2000: 65). But hauntology conceptualises spectres — and the spirits they contain — as ever-present. Thus, it implies 'leaving the process of mourning unfinished' (Labanyi, *Memory, trauma and reparation*: 8). The idea of an infinite mourning does not mean pathological mourning, which, as explained in the previous chapter, involves consciously recognising losses, but continually mourning them as such and thus refusing to assign them to the past (Freud 1917: 250-51). Rather, by means of the 'work of mourning' Derrida suggests we effectively commune with spectres (1994: 113). He wants us, then, to acknowledge the absent presence of ghosts by giving them 'the right […] to […] a hospitable memory' (175).

Spectres enable mourning because they innately evidence the existence of remains. However, where these remains become integrated into history no closure of mourning is desirable since regardless of whether they are perceived as such spectres enduringly exist. Derrida's 'work of mourning' does not, then, equate to an "end of history" for those once rendered ghosts — an end of their history we might say. Instead, hauntology advocates a 'being-with-specters' in order to produce 'a *politics* of memory, of inheritance, and of generations' (1994: xix, italics in original). In contrast to melancholia, the Derridean 'work of mourning' thus openly and infinitely admits the lost histories which spectres return. By enabling the 'traces' of those histories to remain ever-present, perhaps most significantly such mourning lays the ground — tills it, indeed — for their historical, cultural and social introjection.

Spectres return 'other' historical knowledge

The second constitutive element of the spectre — 'the condition of language — and the voice' — is intrinsic to recognising generations of spectres or spirits, as it '*marks* the name' of the spirit 'or takes its place' (9, italics in original). Language thus

memorialises or substitutes for spectres: it has the capacity to recognise the existence of the spirit which once spoke and is now mute, and may return its voice in time.

Derrida emphasizes that the spectre must be spoken to, but that in present language and knowledge it is incomprehensible (6). Due to their inherent foreignness to being, their location outside ontology as such, spectres are beyond knowledge as currently understood (6). While we must speak with the spectre, Derrida argues that we should do so in order to hear and maintain its otherness, and thus expand the boundaries of epistemology. In *Hamlet*, when Horatio is urged to address the apparition by Marcellus — "Thou art a Scholler — speake to it, Horatio" (Act I, Scene I, cited in Derrida 1994: 12) — he orders the ghost to speak because he wants 'to inspect, stabilize, *arrest* the spectre in its speech' (12, italics in original). Horatio seeks, that is, to understand the ghost from within existing knowledge. But Derrida effectively wants us to meet (though also leave) the spectre on the 'other' epistemological territory it stands for. The future Horatio, the future "scholar" must therefore learn:

> Not how to make conversation with the ghost but how to talk with him, with her, how to let them speak or how to give them back speech, even if it is in oneself, in the other, in the other in oneself. (176)

Colin Davis highlights how Derrida's work on hauntology overlaps but also contrasts with Abraham and Torok's notion of trans-generational haunting in the form of the "phantom" (2005: 374).[110] As we saw in Chapter One on Ruiz Zafón's *La sombra del viento*, the "phantom" is the trace of the unspoken traumatic past in the ego of the living descendants (374). Although the "phantom" relates to — indeed, issues from — 'the undisclosed traumas' of earlier generations, it can 'disturb the lives of […] descendants *even and especially if they know nothing about its distant causes*' (374, italics in original). The "phantom" is a mendacious entity that is set on covering up 'its traumatic and usually shameful secrets' (374). Thus, it does not come back 'from the dead in order to reveal something hidden or forgotten, to right a wrong' or to transmit 'a message that might otherwise have gone unheeded' (374). The effects of this ghost are

[110] Abraham and Torok's work precedes *Specters of Marx* by approximately sixteen years but Davis suggests its status in hauntology is 'less acknowledged' (2005: 373). Derrida wrote an 'influential essay […] "Fors"' which suggests certain similarities between his thinking and that of Abraham and Torok, though he says little about their work on "phantoms" (Davis 2005: 374 [See also 376 and 379]).

meant rather 'to mislead the haunted subject' and to make sure 'its secret remains shrouded in mystery' (374). While Derridean spectres might also be untruthful — as we learned earlier, the ghost 'can only be taken at his word' (1994: 7) — the "phantom" seeks to continue its secrets in the present.

Davis suggests the key difference between Abraham and Torok's notion of "phantoms" and Derrida's concept of spectres resides in 'the status of the secret' (378).[111] The secrets of trans-generational "phantoms" cannot be put into words insofar as they are a matter 'of shame and prohibition' (378). But Abraham and Torok maintain such secrets can and indeed have to be spoken 'so that the phantom and its noxious effects on the living' can be driven away (378). For Abraham and Torok, the ghost must therefore be brought back 'to the order of knowledge' (378). According to Derrida, however, the spectre and its secrets are 'unspeakable' for another reason (378). While the spectre must speak and be spoken to, as we have seen, its existence outside knowledge as it is presently comprehended must be maintained. To understand the spectre from within current knowledge would elide its otherness and therefore unhinge its very state of being: its being and non-being. Talking to the Derridean spectre is, then, not about attempting to reveal 'some secret, shameful or otherwise' (377). Rather, perhaps more significantly, 'it may open us up to the experience of secrecy as such: an essential unknowing which underlies and may undermine what we think we know' (377). The secret represented by the Derridean spectre 'cannot not (yet) be articulated in the languages available to us' (379), and the intelligence there communicated, because it is unknown or perhaps because, I would add, with reference to the memory of the Spanish Civil War and Francoist past, the other languages and knowledge and the openness towards them has been eroded in the present.

The transformative work of the spirit

The third element which constitutes the Derridean spectre, alongside 'mourning' and 'the condition of language', is the transformative power of 'the spirit' (in the general sense of the ghost) (1994: 9). In essence, the spectre is always working: 'the "spirit of

[111] I have followed Davis's differentiation between Derrida's spectres and Abraham and Torok's phantoms although, as Davis notes, 'the authors themselves are not always consistent' (2005: 376).

the spirit" is work' (9).[112] The spectre endeavours to correct the temporal disjunction that it represents. In unsettling the supposed certainty of presence of the present, ghosts require that the presence of absence must too be recognised. The power of the ghost to affect the present alters our perception of the apparent solidity of material reality. As Resina expresses it, 'specters can radicalize the present, whose roots they are' (2000: 3). Furthermore, since the spectre forms part of the present it also works to transform itself, that is, its mode of presence in the present, 'whether it […] poses or decomposes itself' (Derrida 1994: 9).

The ability of spectres to unsettle the present opposes the notion of an homogeneous inheritance. As we have seen, hauntology emphasizes that history is composed of what is not as well as what is, regardless of whether we perceive it as extant. In affirming the existence of invisible pasts — bringing them to life as it were through spectres — hauntology underscores how an inheritance, like history, is composed of plurality (Derrida 1994: 16). An inheritance has to be heterogeneous since, as Derrida puts it, it 'is never gathered together, it is never one with itself' (16). Hauntology emphasizes that we inherit from absence as well as presence, and that it constitutes our very existence:

> That we *are* heirs does not mean that we *have* or that we *receive* this or that, some inheritance which enriches us some day with this or that, but that the *being* of what we are *is* first of all inheritance whether we like it or know it or not. (54, italics in original)

But just as the existence of the material/immaterial spectre is inherently unclear so are the inheritances it returns. For Derrida, instead of 'a *given*' inheritance is, then, 'always a task. It remains before us just as unquestionably as we are heirs of Marxism, even before wanting or refusing to be' (54, italics in original). Innately, ghosts carry an injunction to read their legacy — to recognize and also interpret it (16). Indeed, if a legacy was to be read as 'given, natural, transparent, univocal, if it did not call for and at the same time defy interpretation, we would never have anything to inherit from it' (16). Derrida's ghosts link, then, to deconstructive readings of the past. Rather than accepting

[112] Derrida attributes the explanation of the work of the spirit to Paul Valéry: "By 'Spirit' […] I mean a certain *power of transformation…the spirit…works*" (1957: 1139, cited in Derrida 1994: 9, italics in original).

the past as already definitively written — from a singular perspective as historicism would have it — hauntological thinking emphasizes that we have a responsibility towards our inheritance, its visibility notwithstanding. We assimilate inheritances, that is, a heterogeneous inheritance comprised of the past which is absent and which is present (as well as an understanding of the innate absence and presence of our history).

Derrida suggests deconstruction is in fact a radicalization of the legacy of Marxism (92). Consequently, *Specters of Marx* was 'one of the most controversial and influential works' of his later time, as 'Marxist and left-leaning readers' were far from enthusiastic about this claim (Davis 2005: 373). For example, Terry Eagleton protests that the politics Derrida sets out are not grounded in reality. Eagleton views *Specters of Marx* as an average 'political discourse' that is linked to 'a philosophical rhetoric, of spectrality and the messianic, which is at once considerably more subtle and a good deal less convincing […] exciting yet evanescent' (2008: 85). Derrida's post-1989 claim that deconstruction was from the outset a 'radicalized' form of Marxism was politically opportunist, Eagleton suggests (84). For him, Derrida advocates 'a Marxism without Marxism', in other words, one that is not put into practice through 'organization, apparatuses and reasonably well-formulated doctrines and programmes' (86). The idea of a 'New International' that has no 'organization […] ontology […] method […] apparatus' is 'the ultimate poststructuralist fantasy', Eagleton states, because it is 'an opposition' that is not actually an opposition, nor realizable as such (87). Be that as it may, as I shall show, Derrida's hauntological reading of history has had profound resonance in the context of the cultural memory of the Spanish Civil War.

The spirit is about a search for justice

Hauntology does not just demand that we recognise the past that is not evidently present, but also carries an ethical injunction to respond to it. At root, the presence of spectres is a call for '*justice*' (1994: xix, italics in original).[113] Hauntology is about acknowledgement of the past that has been rendered 'other' to the present and therefore a correction of the disjunction of present time. In *Hamlet*, the temporal disjunction is connected to the requirement for Hamlet to set right the wrong of history he inherited: "The time is out of joint; O cursèd spite,/That ever I was born to set it right!" (Act I,

[113] For Derrida, justice must be distinguished from the law (1994: 90), but this distinction 'does not entail the least disqualification of the juridical, its specificity and the new approaches it calls for today' (n. 8, p. 183).

Scene V, cited in Derrida 1994: 3 and 20-21). Spectres are essential to correcting the apparent otherness of time, especially in the seemingly singular present of postmodernity and late capitalism, where '[e]verything, beginning with time, seems out of kilter, unjust, dis-adjusted' (Derrida 1994: 77). In bringing back 'other' histories, spectres suggest the possibilities of 'other' futures (Davis 2005: 379). As well as language and thought that pertains to the past but no longer exists in the present — like, for instance, unspoken memories — spectres are, then, about language and thinking that is as yet unvoiced, as yet unthought. Derrida emphasizes that a kind of temporally self-sufficient present that is separate from the past has no purpose for the future:

> Without this *non-contemporaneity with itself of the living present*, without that which secretly unhinges it, without this responsibility and this respect for justice concerning those who *are not there*, of those who are no longer or who are not yet *present and living*, what sense would there be to ask the question "where?" "where tomorrow?" "whither?". (xix, italics in original)

Spectres effect, then, a sense of political and cultural direction. As we saw earlier, they create 'a *politics* of memory' that relates to inheritance and to future generations (xix, italics in original). In conceptualising history as absence and presence, hauntology ultimately privileges an ethical standpoint over an epistemological one. Derrida's concept of hauntology links to the philosophy of Emmanuel Levinas, whose work on ethics is rooted in the relationship between the self and the other. For Levinas, the abiding ethical imperative is to maintain the radical alterity of the 'other' (Levinas 1969: 203-04, cited in Labanyi, *Memory, trauma and reparation*: 16). The ethical is founded in the self's encounter with the look of the other in what Levinas terms *le face à face* (the face to face) (79-81 and 202-04, cited in Labanyi, *Memory, trauma and reparation*: 16). In this exchange the otherness of the other must be kept intact to avoid their incorporation into the perspective of the self and consequent elision as sameness (79-81 and 202-04, cited in Labanyi, *Memory, trauma and reparation*: 16). The Derridean spectre reflects Levinas's idea of the 'other' (Davis 2005: 373). The innate materiality/immateriality of the ghost, its being and non-being, its incomprehensibility and unverifiability means it is always already radically other. Its difference inheres in its hauntological status, its essential otherness to ontology.

The Derridean spectre also has a messianic quality. Fredric Jameson observes that hauntology is intrinsically connected to the idea of continuing to trust and sustain the possibility of the apparently impossible becoming possible (1999: 59). Levinas's notion of 'the radical difference of the Other' is one of several themes to have attended debates about '"mourning" and spectrality' since 1989; others include 'the appearance of the very apparition of the other in the omnipresence of the address itself: "*Viens!*" ["*Come!*"]', as compared, for example, to 'interpellation in Althusser', and 'the repeated demonstrations of the impossible (as in the analysis of Mauss's *The Gift*)' (59). All these examples 'turn on the necessity and urgency of keeping the impossible alive' (59). Such ideas equate to what Derrida terms "messianic", or as Jameson puts it, 'Utopian' thinking that reveals hauntology as acutely political, invigoratingly so (59-60). Indeed, when conceived as the possible realisation of impossibility, in stark contrast to an endless recycling of the past — a state of repetitive stasis as in melancholia — hauntology becomes 'the form of the most radical politicization […] that […] is energetically future-oriented and active' (60).

Just as spectres seek from the present to put in place a new narrative for the past, so they do too for the future. The spirit works to return the past which has gone unrecognised and suggest futures that may yet be — in their inherent plurality spectres point toward several futures at once. Jameson points out that in *Hamlet* the ghost of the dead king not only returns a different past, but also the potential of a future where justice is attainable (60). The play's narrative structure pivots on 'a call to praxis', whose infection with 'the residual survivals of the revenge-tragedy' it had to navigate 'first and foremost' (60). Since hauntology takes account of the past which is now and here absence — whenever time is "out of joint", so is 'space' (Derrida 1994: 83) —, its conception of the future necessarily exceeds the visible presence of the present. Hauntology conceives of the "future-to-come" ["l'à-venir"], as Derrida expresses it (1994: xix), the future that is not (yet) thinkable from the perspective of the present.[114] Thus, hauntology 'proceeds *from* the future' as well as from the past (xix, italics in original). It brings the future into the present by way of the spectres of the past. The time is therefore 'out of joint' in terms of the past and also the future. Since the very

[114] Peggy Kamuf, the translator of *Specters of Marx*, comments that "future-to-come" is used where Derrida writes '"l'à-venir," which spaces out the ordinary word for the future, *avenir*, into the components of the infinitive: to come' (1994: n. 5, p. 177). However, generally, she adds, it should be noted 'that even in the ordinary translation as simply "future," *avenir* has the sense of a coming, an advent' (n. 5, p. 177).

nature of the spectre is always to come back it is never clear whether its return evidences a past that is undead or an already existing future, which is imperceptible in the present, but, the spectre testifies, may yet be. While ghosts result from loss and are interlinked with mourning, in their orientation towards the future they are innately optimistic. Hauntology describes a present which reconfigures and re-assimilates the memories of the victims of history — people, ideas and ideologies. It thus foresees and foretells a future which is capable of being corrected in the name of justice rather than revenge.

Turning now to the Spanish context, Derrida's theory of hauntology is acutely pertinent to the history of Spain since the civil war following which the defeated Republicans were twice "disappeared" in public memory.[115] Firstly, as explained in the Introduction, during the Franco dictatorship Republican history was eradicated through a redrawing of the conflict as an imperial-style conquest of the Republican 'other' linked to Spain's former colonial power. Secondly, under the political terms of the Transition the whole of Spain's recent traumatic past — the civil war and the Franco era — was rendered politically, socially and culturally obsolete by the so-called "pacto del olvido". Like the dawn of late capitalism following the collapse of communism in Eastern Europe at the end of the 1980s, the Transition was characterised by a break with the recent past which designated it 'other' to the present.

In the analysis of Manuel Rivas's *El lápiz del carpintero* that follows, I aim to demonstrate how the novel exemplifies Derrida's theory of hauntology. I argue that the Republican past that was rendered invisible in Spain's collective memory for over sixty years comes back through the spectre of the painter executed by Herbal, the Nationalist guard. Through Herbal's dialogue with the spectre, I suggest the novel represents the work of mourning for the memories of the civil war and Francoist past. *El lápiz del carpintero* provides an ethical reading of memory. Simultaneously, I emphasize that Herbal personifies the residual traces of the Francoist past in the present.

Synopsis

The novel is mostly set in Santiago de Compostela, the capital of Galicia in north-west Spain. The narrative centres around two interrelated stories: that of a Nationalist guard

[115] López-Quiñones observes that 'Derrida's postontological "hauntology" has been very influential' in 'critical approaches to Spain's contemporary culture' (2010: n. 5, p. 220). See also Amago 2010: 244-45.

and executioner, Herbal, who watched over the Republican prisoners in Santiago de Compostela during the civil war; and that of the love affair between Doctor Daniel Da Barca, an imprisoned Republican intellectual from Cuba, and Marisa Mallo, a member of one of Galicia's most powerful families. Rivas's novel begins in contemporary Galicia when a young journalist, Carlos Sousa, goes to interview the dying Da Barca. The narrative then switches to the red-light club, where Herbal now works as a barman. Herbal narrates his account of guarding Da Barca in the civil war to Maria da Visitação, a young African immigrant who is employed in the club as a prostitute.

My analysis focuses on the story of Herbal and his relationship with one of the Republican prisoners, a painter who works with a carpenter's pencil. The anonymous painter spends his time drawing the Pórtico de la Gloria, the porch of the cathedral of Santiago de Compostela opposite the prison. He sketches his fellow inmates as the sculpted figures — angels, saints and elders — which adorn the entrance. When the painter is sentenced to death Herbal executes him at close range with a single gunshot to the head. Herbal keeps the carpenter's pencil, which the painter used to draw with. The spectre of the dead painter returns to haunt Herbal. It converses with him and shows him the existence of invisible historical and cultural narratives.

When the narrative comes back to the present, sixty years after the civil war, Herbal remains haunted by the ghost of the painter. As Herbal completes the narration of his story to Maria da Visitação, he lies that the spectre no longer exists. At the ghost's instruction, Herbal passes the carpenter's pencil to Maria as if to mark an "end of history". At the end of the novel, Herbal is haunted by 'dolor fantasma' (*El lápiz*: 189) ['phantom pain' (*Pencil*: 160)], the pain of the memory/the memory of the pain of loss.

Critical reception

Rivas's book was written in the Galician language and its original title is *O lapis do carpinteiro*. In Galician, it has sold over 50,000 copies, and in Castilian translation, more than 100,000.[116] It is also the most widely translated work in the history of Galician literature (Folkart 2006: n. 2, p. 312). My references are to the translation into Castilian by Dolores Vilavedra (2000) and into English by Jonathan Dunne (2001). The

[116] Massot J. 'La Galicia caníbal', *La Vanguardia*, 28 September 2001, p. 44 <http://hemeroteca.lavanguardia.es/preview/2001/09/28/pagina-44/34167598/pdf.html?search=rivas> [accessed 7 September 2010]

novel won the Spanish Critics' Prize, the Archbishop Xoán de San Clemente Prize and the Association of Writers in the Galician Language Award in 1998, and the Fiftieth Anniversary Prize of the Belgian Section of Amnesty International in 2001.[117] In 2002 the book was made into a film also called *El lápiz del carpintero*, directed by Antón Reixa.

Rivas's novel was not widely reviewed in Spain, but the author Camilo José Cela claimed its vision of the civil war was 'amarga y sobrecogedora en su posible realidad' ['bitter and moving in its possible reality'] and Rivas marinaded his literary guesswork in 'la salsa de la historia' ['the sauce of history'].[118] In the UK, *The Daily Telegraph* said *El lápiz del carpintero* was 'in any language, a startling novel', where, although 'the plot is spare, the imagery and ideas contained in it are unusual and compelling'.[119] In *Scotland on Sunday*, John Burnside concluded 'it is the power of the imagination — to do harm, and to heal — that comes across most powerfully in this extraordinary book'.[120]

There is a small body of academic criticism of *El lápiz del carpintero* thus far. For Mercedes Tasende, Rivas's book belongs to a group of novels in which, as Maryse Bertrand de Muñoz has identified, the war 'pasa a formar parte de un mundo mítico' ['becomes part of a mythical world'] (Bertrand de Muñoz 1996: 13, cited in Tasende 2001: 207). The mythification is embodied in the idealised portrait of Daniel Da Barca, who, when dying, is depicted as luminous and irrepressible, spiritually and physically (208-09). This outline picture is filled in by Herbal's memories of Da Barca — Herbal recounts incidents that show Da Barca's grandiosity and admits to being fascinated with him (210) — and Da Barca's three-fold survival of death and altruism towards the other prisoners (211-12). Tasende argues that the depiction of Da Barca recalls the grandiose aims of the Republican past. However, she says the novel is also about confronting the truth of the civil war and post-war era, no matter how disagreeable that might be (217).

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[117] <http://www.galicianbooks.com/interior.php?txt=arbore_web35&lg=ing> [accessed 8 September 2010]. See also Folkart 2006: n. 2, p. 312.

[118] Cela, C. 'El color de la mañana', *ABC*, 22 November 1998 <http://hemeroteca.abc.es/nav/Navigate.exe/hemeroteca/sevilla/abc.sevilla/1998/11/22.html#017> [accessed 25 September 2010] (p. 17)

[119] 'Galician with a mission', *Daily Telegraph*, 27 January 2001 <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/culture/4721273/Galician-with-a-mission.html> [accessed 23 August 2010]

[120] Burnside, J. 'Pencil mightier than the gun', *Scotland on Sunday*, 4 February 2001 <http://findarticles.com/p/news-articles/scotland-on-sunday-edinburgh/mi_7924/is_2001_Feb_4/reviews-pencil-mightier-gun/ai_n33028939/?tag=rel.res2> [accessed 23 August 2010]

The Francoist myths have to be replaced by new ones that resuscitate forgotten figures like that of Daniel Da Barca, who influenced the consolidation of democracy in Spain, and whose values 'bien podrían servir de modelo para futuras generaciones' ['could well serve as a model for future generations'] (217).

I agree with Tasende's reading of Rivas's novel and her emphasis on its trans-generational character. As I see it, however, the idealised representation of the past, which is especially evident in Daniel Da Barca, is indivisible from, and thus inherently unsettled by, the ghost of the painter.

In a second article, Tasende suggests *El lápiz del carpintero* presents the civil war and post-war in apocalyptic terms. The depiction of the stranded trains transporting prisoners with tuberculosis as 'panteones de esqueletos ferroviarios' ['pantheons of railway skeletons'] and the portrayal of the passengers as victims of a plague rather than political prisoners have, for example, an apocalyptic tone (2004: 302). For Tasende, the most important apocalyptic reference is the porch of the cathedral of Santiago de Compostela: Maestro Mateo's Romanesque sculpture, the Pórtico de la Gloria which was inspired by the Apocalypse of Saint John the Divine (the Book of Revelation) (298, 302). Biblical images like those of Saint John were used by the Franco regime and Francoist literature to represent the civil war as a conflict between good and evil, and sanctify the post-war repression of the Republicans (299). Tasende claims the painter's drawings of the Republican prisoners as the saints around the entrance to the porch subvert the Francoist reading of history by dismantling its mythical framework (309). Rivas's revision rescues 'prácticamente olvidadas o desconocidas' ['practically forgotten or unknown'] historical figures for new generations of Galicians and pays homage to men whose work contributed to the development of Galician society and culture, and who lived and died defending Republican ideals (309).

I accord with Tasende's reading of the apocalyptic aspects of *El lápiz del carpintero*, though I would stress this is one of many interwoven themes and voices in the novel, rather than its overarching one. In my view, the representation of the immobilised trains as 'panteones de esqueletos ferroviarios' ['pantheons of railway skeletons'] recalls Holocaust imagery. Thus, I suggest, the novel links the memory of the Spanish Civil War with that of the Second World War and imbricates it with European politics of memory.

According to Lucy D. Harney, *El lápiz del carpintero* exemplifies a trend in contemporary Spanish narrative to present an ahistorical idealised Republican past

(2007: 33-34). She criticises the novel's recourse to nostalgia and melancholia and its depiction of all the major characters, except Herbal, as 'essentially infallible' (35). For Harney, the exemplariness of 'the protagonists' is matched by the viciousness of 'the antagonists' and the 'dualistic representations' produce a kind of 'revisionist nostalgia' for a mythical version of the Republican past (36). However, the novel's 'apparent nostalgia for, and glorification of, the adherents of the Second Republic' is set in a 'polyphony of layered viewpoints, literary tropes, and narrative techniques' (37). The 'shifting narrative *perspective*' and spatially and temporally fragmented 'narrative *structure*', means 'the reader is often temporarily disoriented' as to 'who is speaking, what is happening, and whether events are unfolding in the recent or distant past' (37-38, italics in original). *El lápiz del carpintero* is less about nostalgia for an idealised past, Harney concludes, than 'a process of engagement with timeless and ever-present cultural traditions' to try to understand and address the memory of pain/the pain of memory (40).

In my view, Rivas's characterisations are far from a form of 'revisionist nostalgia' for an idealised Republican past; rather, they highlight the novel as a fictional representation of history. In addition, the link between memory and cultural traditions reflects the construction of a collective cultural memory of the civil war.

Claudia Jünke interprets Rivas's text as a depoliticised account of the civil war, which is a parable about 'la lucha del bien contra el mal' ['the fight of good against evil'] played out in the relationship between Herbal and Daniel Da Barca (2006: 115-16). Although the war is pivotal to 'el desarrollo de la acción y la constelación de los personajes' ['the development of the plot and the constellation of the characters'] — the novel is about Republican prisoners in Galicia, with references to historical dates and events — instead of highlighting 'lo específico de la situación española' ['the specific Spanish situation'] the historical context is a mould for conflicts of a more general and abstract type (115). For Jünke, the depoliticisation of the war is reinforced by the emphasis on narrative: the insertion of Herbal's story into the novel's fabric of fictions serves to highlight 'el acto y la función misma de la narración' ['the act and function itself of narration'] rather than 'un pasado extraficcional comprobado históricamente' ['an extra-fictional, historically proven past'] (116-17). Ultimately, 'la imaginación y el hecho de narrar' ['the imagination and the action of telling'] are represented as 'modos privilegiados de la apropiación del pasado' ['privileged ways of accessing the past'] (117).

I disagree with Jünke's view of Rivas's work as a depoliticised account of the civil war which does not show its specific Spanish context. Although the novel is, at one level, a parable about the fight between good and evil, its emphasis on historical and cultural otherness makes it, I think, an acutely political representation of the war.

For Mechtchild Albert, *El lápiz del carpintero* transforms 'la culpa histórica sentido como "dolor fantasma"' ['historical guilt felt as "phantom pain"'] into an 'obligación ética, transmitida de una generación a otra' ['ethical obligation, transmitted from one generation to the other'] (2002: 225). Albert maintains that Herbal's tale is a very personal story of 'culpa y expiación' ['guilt and atonement'], with the dead painter's voice representing Herbal's '(mala) conciencia' ['(bad) conscience'] and his moral education (227-28). Similarly, the carpenter's pencil symbolises 'conciencia moral' ['moral consciousness'] and 'un arte de la memoria comprometido con los desheredados' ['an art of memory politically committed to the dispossessed'] (229).

I agree that the novel is about the ethical need to transmit the memory of the dispossessed to the next generation. But for me the text is not about the transformation of historical guilt: rather than Herbal's '(mala) conciencia', I argue that the voice of the ghost represents the return of Republican historical and cultural narratives.

Anne Walsh claims *El lápiz del carpintero* is part of a trend in contemporary Spanish narrative that 'seems to be consciously attempting to present a more balanced view of Spain's twentieth-century history' by attending to both sides of the political divide (2009: 230). Da Barca's story is told by Herbal, she emphasizes, while our insight into Herbal's thought processes means we understand him as 'a complex character […] [with] his own ghosts to battle' (232). As the voice of the dead painter, the carpenter's pencil becomes 'a tangible symbol of the "other"' — specifically, 'the Republican or non-Nationalist individual' — while the pencil's 'chain of ownership' represents '*patrimonio* or inheritance, a link between the past, present and future' (233). For Walsh, the lack of 'ideological background' in Rivas's text means that the symbolic continuity in the pencil 'bypasses political arguments' and emphasizes more an 'individual search for connection' (233).

I concur with Walsh's emphasis on Herbal's complexity and her reading of the pencil as a symbol of the 'other'. In my view, however, qua 'other', the pencil's 'chain of ownership' affirms rather than bypasses a political connection to Republican ideology. The ideological background is also, I think, indelibly inscribed in the link between the pencil and the ghost of the painter.

According to Jordan Tronsgard, Rivas's novel is an exercise in "ironic nostalgia" that sustains, but casts doubt on 'the nostalgic hegemony of memory' by giving 'narrative authority to […] a fascist' (2011: 225). While 'Herbal is intrinsically political given his fascist past', since this politics 'exists only in the periphery' in the present the novel diverges from 'the expectations of congruity' about 'the storyteller and the story being told', and thus produces an 'ironic idealization' that works to highlight 'the process of forming a nostalgic image' (237). Tronsgard avers that the book is characterised by its uneasy blend of 'idealized nostalgia for […] those who embody the Republic' and a postmodern dissolution of 'absolutes' underscored by 'Herbal's narrative centrality, the blending of reality/fantasy, and an overall textual self-awareness' (238). The novel thus paints a nostalgic picture of the past yet simultaneously subverts it, thereby 'questioning the creation of such an image' (238).

I accord with Tronsgard's reading of the novel as an example of "ironic nostalgia" that effectively undercuts its portrayal of the memory of the civil war. Likewise, I agree that Herbal is an inherently political character, but I argue he embodies the traces of the Francoist legacy in post-Transition Spain.

Jo Labanyi classifies *El lápiz del carpintero* as one of a strand of films and novels that represent the legacy of the civil war through a 'trope of haunting' (2007: 97). As mentioned in the Introduction, haunting emerges as a theme of novels and films of the 1970s and 1980s — *Luna de lobos* [*Wolf Moon*] (1985) by Julio Llamazares, for example — as well as those of the more recent "memory boom". Labanyi contends that haunting emphasizes 'the legacy of the past to the present', 'which […] is one of injustice requiring reparation' and thereby looks to 'correct the past' while establishing 'an affiliative link' with it (113). In Rivas's novel, the trope of haunting is exemplified by the voice of the dead Republican artist, which shares the narration with the 'Nationalist thug', and by the concept of "dolor fantasma" ["phantom pain"] (101).

I concur with Labanyi's emphasis on the novel's trope of haunting and its illumination of past injustice seeking present reparation. However, I would observe that Herbal is not simply a 'thug', notwithstanding his past brutality.[121] Rather, I will argue, Herbal's dialogue with the ghost illustrates the work of mourning for the civil war and Francoist past.

[121] On this point, see also Alison Ribeiro de Menezes (2010: n. 5, p. 10).

Ángel Loureiro sees *El lápiz del carpintero* as a work in which 'subjetividad y muerte se presenten estrechamente relacionadas' ['subjectivity and death appear closely related'] (2005: 147). For Loureiro, Herbal's 'ocupación mental' ['mental occupation'] by the ghost of the Republican painter is neither 'la introyección del melancólico' ['the introjection of the melancholic'] nor an allegory of Herbal's 'posible mala conciencia o de su remordimiento' ['possible bad conscience or of his remorse'] (150). Instead, drawing on Emmanuel Levinas's view that the formulation of the subject stems from an ethical responsibility towards the other, the essential form of which is responsibility for 'the death of the other insofar as he is mortal' (Levinas 2000: 43, cited in Loureiro 2005: 147), Herbal's psychic occupation represents,

> [U]na usurpación total de su subjetividad por la que el carpintero se convierte periódicamente en Herbal, quien queda transformado en esos momentos en un muñeco animado por el espíritu del muerto. (2005: 150)
>
> [(A) total usurpation of his subjectivity by which the carpenter periodically turns into Herbal, who is transformed in those moments into a doll animated by the spirit of the dead man.][122]

This usurpation 'humaniza a un Herbal que es normalmente calculador, cruel y sin escrúpulos' ['humanizes an Herbal that is normally calculating, cruel and without scruples'] and 'la muerte del otro convierte a Herbal en responsable, el muerto mueve a Herbal' ['the death of the other makes Herbal responsible, the dead man moves Herbal'] (150). Citing Levinas's idea that death is unintelligible as a matter 'del ser y de la temporalidad' ['of being and temporality'] and thus not 'una forma de la nada sino una infinitud' ['a form of nothing but an infinity'], Loureiro characterises the ghost as a '*daimon* que inspira a Herbal [que] ha estado ahí desde siempre, y en todo caso ha sido simplemente despertado, pero no originado' ['*daemon* that inspires Herbal (that) has always been there, and in any case has been simply aroused, but not brought into being'] by his actions (152, italics in original).

[122] Loureiro terms the ghost a 'carpintero' ['carpenter'] (2005: 150).

I concur that Herbal's mental occupation by the ghost reflects an ethical responsibility to the other. I also agree Herbal's subjectivity is intermittently seized by the spectre, but I would observe that this always occurs by means of its voice.

As William J. Nichols sees it, *El lápiz del carpintero* assesses 'el conflicto entre la historia oficial y la memoria personal' ['the conflict between official history and personal memory'], and explores the oral and written traditions as 'posibles estrategias para la recuperación y supervivencia de la memoria personal' ['possible strategies for the recuperation and survival of personal memory'] (2006: 156). Drawing on Maurice Halbwachs' distinction between 'memoria individual y colectiva' ['individual and collective memory'] Nichols says the novel 'parece sugerir la posible perpetuación de un pasado individual a través de la creación de un espacio colectivo' ['appears to suggest the possible perpetuation of an individual past through the creation of a collective space'] (157). Since Rivas grew up in the 1960s and 'no tiene memoria directa ni experiencia personal' ['has neither direct memory nor personal experience'] of the civil war, Nichols observes he can only access this past 'por medio de la escritura y las historias que le cuentan' ['by means of writing and the histories told to him'] (158). Hence,

> Sin ningún medio material para recuperar el pasado, la novela de Rivas (y la literatura en general) se vuelve irónicamente el lugar donde la memoria individual puede radicar a pesar de, o tal vez a causa de la progresión de la búsqueda que el mismo texto emprende hacia un lugar accesible para la historia personal. (158)
>
> [Without any material means to recover the past, Rivas's novel (and literature in general) ironically becomes the place where individual memory can lie despite, or maybe because of, the progression of the search that the same text embarks on towards an accessible place for personal history.]

I agree that the novel creates a collective space for individual memories of the civil war by means of the oral and written traditions. I also concur that the novel, and more generally literature, represents a place for individual memory. However, I would observe that this also links to the trans-generational transmission of memories.

According to Jessica A. Folkart, *El lápiz del carpintero* is '*Herbal's* story', because 'he sees it, he tells it, and he is changed in the process' (2006: 299, italics in original). The novel is a 'story of desire', she states, which includes 'the desire to tell': while Herbal is initially 'defined by his silence', in 'the course of events he increasingly speaks about, and acts on, his desire to express himself and be understood' (300, 310). For Folkart, the ghost is '[a] key mediator in the development of Herbal's subjectivity', but at the same time 'his haunting by the painter is an excess that prevents him from expunging the past' (307). She claims 'the ghost stimulates a conscience that had been suspended and becomes a confidant for the thoughts and questions that Herbal is unable to articulate to others' (307-08).

I accord with Folkart's view of Rivas's novel as Herbal's story of desire and her emphasis that he is changed through telling it. I also agree that the ghost is Herbal's confidant. But in my argument Herbal's dialogue with the ghost reflects the schism between the private and the public spheres about the memories of the civil war and Francoist past.

Moving now to my reading of Rivas's novel, I draw on Derrida's theory of hauntology to argue that the spectre of the painter symbolises the expulsion of the Republican past from Spain's collective memory of the civil war and Franco era, but also its return. The ghost illustrates the absence and presence of Republican historical and cultural narratives and thus represents cultural and historical alterity. In expanding the corpus of historical and cultural knowledge, I argue that the spectre embodies the return of an heterogeneous inheritance. *El lápiz del carpintero* thus illustrates the emergence of Republican memories of the civil war and Francoist past after 1998. I trace how Herbal's dialogue with the spectre of the painter represents the work of mourning. Through the spectre's imbrication with the Levinasian 'other' Rivas's novel provides an ethical reading of memory. But at the same time Herbal personifies the residual traces of the Francoist past in the present.

The spectre transmutes melancholia into mourning

The appearance of the spectre of the painter after his execution testifies to the existence of melancholia in Franco's Spain. It shows that there has been an external disavowal of the painter's death and consequently an inhibition of mourning for his loss. As in *Hamlet*, the return of the ghost signals the state is disfigured inside. The spectre acknowledges the exclusion of Republican historical memory from post-war Spain as a

result of the "master narrative" of Francoism, which conceptualised the civil war as an imperial conquest of the Republican 'other'. The apparition belies the Francoist linkage of the Nationalist victory to Spain's imperial past as if there had been a seamless progression of historical destiny. The ghost shows rather that the time is "out of joint" (Derrida 1994: 1).

The spectre evidences its historical expulsion by coming back in the physical location of the carpenter's pencil. After Herbal executes the painter, he collects the pencil with which the painter drew his fellow Republican prisoners. We learn: 'Y luego me acordé del lápiz. El lápiz que él llevaba en la oreja. Este lápiz' (*El lápiz del carpintero*: 23).[123] ['And then I remembered the pencil. The pencil he carried behind his ear. This pencil' (*The Carpenter's Pencil*: 12)].[124] When the spectre returns it appears where the pencil was previously kept by the painter and now by Herbal:

> La del crepúsculo era, por alguna razón, la hora preferida por el pintor para visitar la cabeza del guardia Herbal. Se le posaba en la oreja con firme suavidad, a horcajadas, como el lápiz del carpintero. (*El lápiz*: 91)
>
> [Dusk, for some reason, was when the painter preferred to visit the guard Herbal's head. He would alight on his ear with firm gentleness, with one leg on either side, like the carpenter's pencil. (*Pencil*: 72)]

The return of the ghost in the place of the pencil figures it as a simulacrum. As in Platonism, the ghost is shown to be a copy without an original, a copy of the idea of the pencil. The ghost, which represents memory, is a copy of the idea of the writing of history; it symbolises, then, historical representation. The spectre indicates what has disappeared from Spain as a result of the denial of history. While the pencil is empirical evidence of the existence of the painter, a visible trace of his former presence, it simultaneously illustrates his absence.[125] Although the existence of the pencil testifies to the memory of the painter, the spectre's presence in its place shows that the painter's death has not been historically acknowledged.

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[123] Hereafter, all references to the text are abbreviated to '*El lápiz*'.
[124] Hereafter, all references to the English translation are abbreviated to '*Pencil*'.
[125] Nichols suggests Herbal inadvertently turns the pencil into 'una reliquia y una prótesis que, por un lado, resucita al pintor y, por otro, sustituye su ausencia' ['a relic and a prosthesis that, on one hand, resuscitates the painter and, on the other, substitutes for his absence'] (2006: 172).

The return of the ghost is temporally linked to melancholia. We learn that the time of day that the spectre appears — 'crepúsculo' ['twilight'] — is 'el tiempo melancólico' (*El lápiz*: 93) ['a lazy, melancholy time' (*Pencil*: 74)].[126] But the spectre's presence, as it were, is also about the admission of loss. The ghost represents the transmutation of melancholia into mourning. Through its return, the spectre counters the received "master narrative" of Francoism. In view of Derrida's concept of hauntology, the apparition is a call for historical 'justice' (1994: xix). It constitutes a demand for recognition of the disappearance of Republican memory from Spain and its due inclusion in Spanish history.

The return of absent historical narratives

The spectre of the painter is a metonym for the Republican otherness — the people, the history and culture — that was subsumed into the Francoist version of the civil war and effectively expelled from Spanish society. The ghost represents a history that is present yet absent, visible yet invisible. As Michel de Certeau would express it, 'What can be seen designates what is no longer there' (1988, c.1984: 108).

The spectre evidences its invisible history through its very return and as well its voice. The ghost illustrates, then, the notion of the Derridean spectre: 'the condition of language — and the voice' is one of its constitutive elements (Derrida 1994: 9). Language allows memories to pass from one person to another, and the spectre's capacity for speech counters the novel's trope of public silence. Through its speaking the spectre recognises the presence of absent, unseen histories. It returns 'other' historical narratives. The spectre highlights, for example, the work of the washerwomen who can be seen from the prison. It points out to Herbal: 'Fíjate, las lavanderas están pintando el monte' (*El lápiz*: 92) ["Look, the washerwomen are painting the hillside" (*Pencil*: 73)]. We learn:

> Sus brazos […] son los mangos del pincel. […] El monte es como un lienzo. Fíjate. Pintan sobre tojos y zarzas. […] La larga pincelada de una sábana. Dos trazos de calcetines rojos. El temblor liviano de una lencería. Extendida al clareo, cada pieza de ropa cuenta una historia. (*El lápiz*: 92)

[126] In the English translation, 'crepúsculo' is given as 'dusk' and 'twilight'.

['Their arms,' (…) 'are the handles of a paintbrush, (…). The hillside is like a canvas. Look. They are painting over gorse bushes and brambles. (…) The long brush of a white sheet. Two dashes of red socks. The slight tremor of some lingerie. Hanging out to dry, each article of clothing tells a story. (*Pencil*: 73)]

The idea of the drying clothes representing numerous histories reflects the spectre's state of simultaneous non-being/being, immateriality/materiality, invisibility/visibility. Later, we discover that the drying of the clothes was helping Republican escapees who were hiding in the caves:

En sus batidas, la Guardia Civil nunca los encontraba. Hasta que descubrieron el código de señales. Las lavanderas eran sus cómplices, escribiendo mensajes en los matorrales con los colores de sus trapos. (*El lápiz*: 153)

[When they scoured the area the Civil Guard could never find them. Until they broke the code of signals. The washerwomen were accomplices, writing messages over the thickets with the colours of their clothes. (*Pencil*: 128)]

Through the revelation of the language contained in the washerwomen's activities — the encoding of the colours of the clothes — the text draws the existence of invisible historical and cultural narratives as equally meaningful as the concept of the "master narrative". Absence is not figured as secondary to a primary presence, but as an equivalent reality. The idea of the washerwomen transmitting a multitude of individual stories through the encoded colours contrasts with the notion of a singular version of history. Instead, the colours of the drying garments represent historical and cultural heterogeneity. They illustrate a plurality of histories. Through the language of encoded colours Rivas's novel returns, then, what Derrida would term 'the spirit' of Republicanness and Republican history.

Herbal's dialogue with the ghost of the painter illustrates what Derrida would term 'the work of mourning' for the memories of the civil war and Francoist past (1994: 9). Although Herbal is publicly silent, he talks to the ghost in private. Rivas's novel thus represents historical reality. As set out in the Introduction, the fact that the Republican dead could not be publicly mourned etched a deep 'schism between public and private memory in post-civil war Spain' (Graham 2004: 321). Republican memories that were

absent in the public realm, lay silently present — known of but unspoken — in the private sphere.

The return of the ghost of the painter stands for the loss of historical and cultural otherness from Spain. But at the same time the spectre is shown to expand the corpus of knowledge by educating Herbal. We learn:

> [L]e enseñaba cosas. Por ejemplo, que lo más difícil de pintar era la nieve. Y el mar, y los campos. Las amplias superficies de apariencia monocolor. Los esquimales, le dijo el pintor, distinguen hasta cuarenta colores en la nieve, cuarenta clases de blancura. Por eso, los que mejor pintan el mar, los campos y la nieve son los niños. Porque la nieve puede ser verde y el campo blanquear como las canas de un anciano campesino. (*El lápiz*: 89)
>
> [He taught him things. For example, that nothing was more difficult to paint than snow. And fields and the sea. Wide, open surfaces that give the impression of being monochrome. 'Eskimos,' the painter told him, 'distinguish up to forty colours in snow, forty types of whiteness. That is why the best person to paint the sea, fields and snow is a child. Then the snow can be green and the field grow white like a peasant farmer in old age.' (*Pencil*: 70)]

Through its ability to speak the spectre returns cultural alterity. Rather than reinscribing existing knowledge by confirming to Herbal what he already perceives, the spectre is shown to open Herbal's eyes to that which has previously been unrecognisable and thus unknown to him. The metaphor of multi-coloured snow with 'cuarenta clases de blancura' ['forty types of whiteness'] despite its 'apariencia monocolor' ['impression of being monochrome'] returns the concept of cultural heterogeneity. The spectre of the painter shows what has been missing from the perception of Herbal the Nationalist guard. The textual description of an apparently monochrome surface containing a plurality of hidden whitenesses reflects the existence of invisible historical and cultural narratives.

The portrayal of the ghost as a simulacrum of the pencil is underscored by the idea of them as interchangeable. We learn:

> Cuando sentía el lápiz, cuando hablaban de esas cosas, de los colores de la nieve, de la guadaña del pincel en el silencio verde de los prados, del pintor submarino, […] el guardia Herbal notaba que le desaparecían los ahogos como por ensalmo. (*El lápiz*: 91)]
>
> [When he felt the pencil, when they spoke of these things — of the colours of the snow, of the scythe of the paintbrush on the green silence of the meadows, of the underwater painter, (…) — the guard Herbal noticed how the feeling of breathlessness would disappear, as if by magic. (*Pencil*: 72)]

The figuration of the ghost as 'el lápiz' ['the pencil'] implies the pencil contains the ghost. Thus, the spectre highlights an absence in the cultural presence of the pencil: a disappearance in its being. The ghost attests to the images, the cultural production that has not been in writing/drawing as well as in speech. The text tells us that there has been a cultural hiatus in post-war Spain. But the idea of the dialogue with the ghost healing Herbal's shortness of breath indicates that it has effectively breathed new life into Herbal. The transmission of knowledge, attests, then, to the transformative power of 'the spirit' (in the general sense of the ghost): the ability of the present yet absent spectre to alter the actuality of the present (Derrida 1994: 9).

The dialogue between the ghost and the guard underlines the novel as an ethical representation of the memories of the civil war and Francoist past. Herbal's interaction with the spectre of the painter is represented as an encounter between self and other, which in the work of Emmanuel Levinas constitutes '*le face à face* (the face to face)' (Levinas 1969: 79 and 202, cited in Davis 1996: 46). As we saw earlier, *le face à face* comprises the idea of 'an originary and irreducible relation' between the self and the other (Levinas 1969: 79-81 and 202-04, cited in Davis 1996: 46), in which the ethical is founded. Rather than 'the self', for Levinas, ethics begins 'in the self's confrontation with the other, whose look calls its autonomy into question' (Levinas 1969: 202-04, cited in Labanyi *Memory, trauma and reparation*: 15). But the spectre of the painter does not show its face or indeed any aspect of its corporeal appearance other than its voice. *Le face à face* is, then, constituted through the voice, which Herbal hears and also feels. The voice of the spectre also stands in for what Levinas terms *le visage* [the face] (Levinas 1969: 79 and 187-201, cited in Davis 1996: 46), the innate representation of the expression of the other or the self. The idea of the voice substituting for *le visage*

embodies the invisibility of the face of the painter caused by his physical execution. But at root the spectral voice that symbolises *le visage* grants audibility to the *idea* of the 'other' voice — other historical narratives and knowledge.

Like the very concept of the spectre, which is innately 'other' to being, the historical and cultural narratives it returns are shown to be 'other' to the present. The knowledge imparted to Herbal by the ghost of the painter — for example, the metaphor of multi-coloured snow with 'cuarenta clases de blancura' ['forty types of whiteness'] — stands for that which lies beyond the boundaries of comprehensibility in the Franco era and is 'other' to Francoist thinking. But the previously unrecognised and unknown knowledge returned by the spectre of the painter also relates to the disremembrance of the recent past during the Spanish Transition. The ghost's return of knowledge to Herbal symbolises, then, the resurgence of Republican memories of the civil war and Francoist past from around 1998. *El lápiz del carpintero* therefore illustrates the expansion of knowledge about the civil war and Franco era. As explained earlier, the spectre represents knowledge that has to be kept 'other' in order to increase the scope of 'language and thought', rather than subsume it within recognised epistemology (Davis 2005: 378-79). Although it emanates from the past of the spectre of the painter — the ghost brings back 'las ideas' (*El lápiz*: 27) ['the ideas' (*Pencil*: 15)] for which the painter was imprisoned and then executed in the civil war — this knowledge also pertains to the future. The spectre's radicalisation of Herbal's cultural knowledge in the post-war present already articulates the future of cultural heterogeneity.

The dialogue between the ghost and Herbal that centres on the imagination has a real aspect. As highlighted in the Introduction, Manuel Rivas did not experience the civil war directly. Rather, like all of the authors of the novels in the thesis, Rivas, who was born in 1957, grew up under Francoism in the generations after. The novel's emphasis on the imagination also has a contemporary facet. As set out in the Introduction, the political and psychic rupture with the memory of the civil war and Francoist past meant that the inter-generational silence that arose in the time of Franco was prolonged into the Transition. An obvious consequence of this silence was that contemporary generations had little knowledge about the civil war and Francoist past.

The dialogue between Herbal and Maria da Visitação explicitly represents the trans-generational transmission of memories. Whereas Herbal took part in the war Maria 'ya había cumplido veinte años en octubre' (*El lápiz*: 141) ['turned twenty in October' (*Pencil*: 117)]. Claudia Jünke has observed that the fictional conversation

between Herbal and Maria forms 'una especie de marco' ['a kind of frame'] which is actualised in the course of the narrative by phrases like "le contó Herbal a Maria da Visitação" (*El lápiz*: 77, for example) ['Herbal told Maria da Visitação' (*Pencil*: 59)] (Jünke 2006: 114). The movement between the past and the present produces a diegetic "retórica del entonces-y-hoy" ["rhetoric of then-and-now"] (114). Maria symbolises the notion of the "generación de los nietos de los vencidos" ["generation of the grandchildren of the vanquished"] asking about the past. But rather than being linked to Republican memory, Herbal is a perpetrator from the Francoist side.

The disremembrance of the spectre

When the narrative returns to the present for the final time, Herbal tells Maria da Visitação that the spectre no longer exists. Its public disappearance implies the remains of the executed painter have been historically recognised in contemporary Spain. But in view of the spectre's persistence, Herbal's disremembrance of its presence, which refuses it what Derrida would term 'a hospitable memory' (1994: 175), attests to a climate/culture of melancholia towards the memories of the civil war and Francoist past. The novel illustrates, then, the historical reality of the Spanish Transition.

Herbal's final account of the spectre to Maria da Visitação initially alludes to the arrival of a new era in Spain. When Maria asks '¿Y qué fue del pintor?' ['And what happened to the painter?'] Herbal recounts:

> Vino una vez a verme a la cárcel. […] Me dijo: ¿Sabes? Ya he encontrado a mi hijo. Anda pintando maternidades.
>
> Eso es buena señal, le dije. Significa esperanza.
>
> Muy bien, Herbal. Ya sabes algo de pintura. (*El lápiz*: 187)
>
> ['He came to see me once in prison. (…) He said to me, "You know something? I found my son. He spends his time painting mothers and their newborn babies."
>
> 'That's a good sign,' I said to him. 'It signifies hope.'

'Very good, Herbal. Now you know something about painting.' (*Pencil*: 158)]

Herbal's encounter with the ghost shows that its expansion of cultural knowledge has persisted into the present. The endurance of the 'other' knowledge confirms the power of 'the spirit' for transformation (Derrida 1994: 9). By dint of its dialogue with Herbal the spectre has altered his outlook and indeed returned the future. The ghost's location of his son, the son's interest in painting 'maternidades' ['mothers and their newborn babies'] and Herbal's insight into the optimism the images evoke create an interconnected picture of a newly integrated society and culture. The evocation prefigures a closure of Spain's Francoist period and by implication a future openness towards cultural otherness: the newborn babies return the possibility of fully realising the 'amplias superficies […] [del] mar, [de] los campos y [de] la nieve' (*El lápiz*: 89) ['wide, open surfaces (…) of the sea, fields and snow' (*Pencil*: 70)]. In tandem with the trans-generational transmission of memories, the textual reference illustrates the spectre's messianic character. The image signals what Derrida would term a "future-to-come" ["l'à-venir"] (1994: xix).

But Herbal's ensuing concealment of the ghost of the painter tells us that the social and cultural exclusion of Republican memory has remained intact. When Maria asks, ¿No volvió? ['And didn't he come back?'], we learn:

> No, no ha vuelto nunca más, mintió Herbal. Como diría el doctor Da Barca, se perdió en la eternal indiferencia. (*El lápiz*: 187)
>
> ['He never came back,' Herbal lied. 'As Doctor Da Barca would have said, he disappeared into eternal indifference.' (*Pencil*: 158)]

Herbal's public disremembrance of the ghost despite its persistence in his memory simulates the widespread effects of the "pacto del olvido". Poignantly, even though Maria is in a sense the present young equivalent of the Republican 'other', the continuing presence of the ghost is kept from her knowledge. Rivas's novel thus reflects the inter-generational silence about the memories of the civil war. As set out in the Introduction, this silence set in under Francoism and was then prolonged into the Transition by the political and psychic rupture with the recent past. Herbal's public

denial of the spectre's presence shows how the Transition's designation of the past as 'other' to the present created a false historical severance. The apparent disappearance of the ghost suggests the memory of the Republican painter has died forever. It implies, then, an "end of history", in other words the closure of the historical narrative of the civil war.

The notion that the ghost 'se perdió en la eternal indiferencia' ['disappeared into eternal indifference'] suggests it has entered a metaphysical version of what Greil Marcus has called "the dustbin of history" (1995). For Marcus, late capitalism's abiding concern with the new has produced a ditching of troublesome 'history, a past of burden and legacy' (22), its wholesale throwing away. The ghost's supposed evaporation falsely signals a culmination of mourning, as if the memory of the painter had been 'worked through' and assimilated to history with the course of time. It implies the painter's remains have been located and historically recognised in the present. But, in view of the ghost's persistence, the public disremembrance of its presence, which refuses it 'a hospitable memory' (Derrida 1994: 175), attests to a climate of melancholia about the memories of the civil war and Francoist past in post-Transition Spain.

After Herbal says the spectre no longer exists, it immediately reappears. We read:

> Mira, el brillo de las camelias tras la lluvia, le dijo el pintor a Herbal al oído. ¡Regálale el lápiz! ¡Regálaselo a la morena!
>
> Toma, te lo regalo, le dijo [Herbal] tendiéndole el lápiz del carpintero.
>
> Pero…
>
> Cógelo, haz el favor. (*El lápiz*: 187-88)
>
> ['Look, the camellias glisten after the rain,' the painter said in Herbal's ear. 'Give her the pencil! Give it to the dark-haired girl!'
>
> 'Here, a present,' (…) (Herbal) said, holding out the carpenter's pencil.
>
> 'But…'

'Take it, please.' (*Pencil*: 158)]

The ghost's instruction to Herbal demonstrates the power of 'the spirit' for transformation (Derrida 1994: 9). Despite its affirmed public disappearance, the spectre is shown to be still working, still operative in the present. The ghost, we see, alters the direction of the historical narrative. By persuading Herbal to pass the pencil to Maria, it 'makes the present waver' (Jameson 1999: 38). Significantly, the spectre does not simply create a counter narrative to the "pacto del olvido". Rather, it sets in place a new narrative, which connects the past to another future. Since the ghost has been figured as interchangeable with the pencil the gift suggests the possibility of the ghost's future recognition. Rivas's novel thus allies the trans-generational transmission of memories to cultural and historical alterity. By way of the pencil, which is by now the memory-object of the painter *and also the ghost*, Maria, who represents the contemporary young version of the social and cultural 'other', becomes implicitly connected to the Republican past.[127]

The residues of the Francoist past in the present

El lápiz del carpintero is not only concerned with Republican memories of the civil war and Francoist past, but also highlights the residues of the Francoist legacy in the Spanish present.

In contemporary Spain Herbal lives and works as a barman in a red-light club, where Maria is a prostitute. The club is run by Manila. Although nearly six decades have passed since the end of the civil war Herbal's behaviour and his gestures in the club contain numerous lingering traces of the Francoist past. The description of Herbal standing at the bar watching the prostitutes recalls his time as a prison guard. We read:

> Herbal permanecía acodado al fondo de la barra, como un guardia en su garita. Ellas sabían que él estaba allí, filmando cada movimiento, espiando a los tipos que tenían, como decía él, cara de plata y lengua de navaja. Sólo de vez en cuando salía de su puesto de vigía para ayudar a Manila a servir copas, en los escasos momentos de apuro, y lo hacía a la manera de un cantinero en plena

[127] Labanyi observes that the passing of the pencil to Maria represents 'an affiliative transmission of the past to a contemporary victim of history' (2007: 101). See also Albert 2002: 229 and Tronsgard 2011: n. 16, p. 244-45.

guerra, como si echara el licor directamente en el hígado del cliente. (*El lápiz*: 19-20)

[Herbal would remain with his elbows on the end of the bar, like a sentry in his box. They knew he was there, filming every movement, scrutinizing the ones who, he used to say, had silver faces and razor-tongues. Only occasionally would he leave his lookout post to help Manila with the drinks, at the rare times it got busy, and he would do so in the manner of a barman at the height of war, as if he were pouring the spirits straight into the client's liver. (*Pencil*: 9-10)]

The depiction of Herbal 'como un guardia en su garita' ['like a sentry in his box'] while the prostitutes 'sabían que él estaba allí filmando cada movimiento' ['knew he was there, filming every movement'] returns the image of him standing watch over the Republican prisoners in the civil war. When, for example, the painter shows his drawing of the Pórtico de la Gloria to his fellow inmates:

El pintor explicó que el zócalo del Pórtico de la Gloria estaba poblado de monstruos, con garras y pico de rapiñas, y cuando oyeron eso todos callaron, un silencio que los delató, porque Herbal bien que notaba todos los ojos calvados en su silueta de testigo mudo. (*El lápiz*: 39)

[(H)e explained that the base of the Pórtico da Gloria was full of monsters, with talons and beaks like birds of prey, and hearing this they all went quiet, a silence that gave them away, because Herbal could feel their gaze fixed on his silhouette as he stood there, a silent witness. (*Pencil*: 26)][128]

The replication of Herbal's past in his present shows the persistence of the Francoist legacy in contemporary Spain. The present is suffused with the past. But the silent encounter between the prisoners and Herbal is the antithesis of the dialogue with the ghost of the painter. Rather than the resurgence of memory, it illustrates the "pacto del olvido".

[128] The English translation retains the Galician spelling Pórtico da Gloria.

Herbal's embodiment of the past in the present symbolizes what Michel de Certeau would call an historical 'return of the repressed' (1988: 4). As set out in the previous chapter on Cercas's *Soldados de Salamina*, for de Certeau, 'modern Western history essentially begins with differentiation between the *present* and the *past*' (2, italics in original). This division is about constructing the present with regard to current knowledge and understanding: 'The labor designated by this breakage […] promotes a selection between what can be *understood* and what must be *forgotten* in order to obtain the representation of a present intelligibility' (4, italics in original). However, as we have seen, historiography which is based on the repression of the past in order to affirm the present inevitably results in the re-emergence of that past in some form. As de Certeau puts it: '[w]hatever this new understanding of the past holds to be irrelevant — shards created by the selection of materials, remainders left aside by an explication — comes back, despite everything' (4). The remnants and fragments of the past will, in other words, always emerge. These syntactic lapses 'symbolize a return of the repressed, that is, a return of what, at a given moment, has *become* unthinkable in order for a new identity to *become* thinkable' (4, italics in original).

In Rivas's novel, the return of the past in the present is reiterated by Herbal's contemporary taciturnity. His silence repeats his absence of speech in the civil war. After Herbal executes the painter, the Falangists with him observe, 'parece que le ha cambiado la voz' (*El lápiz*: 57) ['his voice seems to have changed' (*Pencil*: 41)]. Shortly after, we read: 'Y ya no habló más' (*El lápiz*: 57) ['And that was the last he spoke' (*Pencil*: 41)]. In contemporary Spain, although Herbal narrates the story of his civil war experiences to Maria in private, he barely speaks in public. From the outset we learn: 'Herbal no hablaba casi nunca' (*El lápiz*: 19) ['Herbal hardly ever spoke' (*Pencil*: 9)]. The lack of vocal expression extends to the club in general, which is chiefly peopled by a public silence. Of the men who visit: 'Excepto algunos, hablaban muy poco. /Como Herbal' (*El lápiz*: 19) ['With a few exceptions, they spoke very little. /Like Herbal' (*Pencil*: 11)]. The simile linking Herbal's silence to that of the club portrays democratic Spain — precisely, Galicia — as replicating the lack of discourse in the 1940s. Rivas's novel thus illustrates the resonance of the "pacto del olvido" in Spain in the late 1990s (*El lápiz del carpintero* was published in 1998). As set out in the Introduction, the "pacto del olvido" embodied the notion of forgetting or erasing the recent past, but in practice it played out as silence.

The return of the past in the present is also sounded by the vocal change which transpires after Herbal finishes telling his story to Maria da Visitação. After the ghost of the painter is "disappeared" from the historical narrative and the pencil is passed to Maria, a trace of Herbal's past emerges in his tone. We read:

> Manila dio en el aire las palmadas de costumbre y abrió la puerta del local. Había una cliente esperando.
>
> Ése ya estuvo aquí el otro día, dijo Herbal con la voz cambiada. La voz de vigía: ¡Tienes trabajo, niña! (*El lápiz*: 188)
>
> [Manila clapped her hands in the air as usual and opened the door to the club. There was one client waiting.
>
> 'He was here the other day,' said Herbal in a changed voice. The guard's voice, 'You've work, girl!' (*Pencil*: 159)]

Herbal's authoritarian announcement in '[l]a voz de vigía' ['(t)he guard's voice'] figures the re-emergence of the Francoist legacy in the present. The trace of history is a 'return of the repressed' (de Certeau 1988: 4). It vocalises a 'shard' of the past (4), which was rendered 'other' to the present by the Transition's political and psychic rupture with the civil war and Francoist past. The 'voz de vigía' articulates a 'lapse[…] in the syntax constructed by the law' (4) of Spanish democracy. Barely, it implies that the Francoist identity which 'has become unthinkable' (4) in contemporary, Europeanized Spain remains and can emerge nonetheless. Despite the Transition's representation of the civil war and the dictatorship as effectively another country, the text tells us that in Galicia at least the invisible past exists. To extend Greil Marcus's metaphor of the "dustbin of history" the attempt to consign the Spanish past to a kind of waste receptacle has led to it seeping its contents.

The idea of the Francoist legacy surfacing in the Spanish present puts the memory of the Spanish Civil War into a European context. As discussed in the Introduction, Spain's "memory boom" linked to a wider European "memory boom" relating to the Second World War that followed the collapse of communism in 1989 (Stone 2014: 266). *El lápiz del carpintero* overtly links the memory of the Spanish Civil

War to that of the Second World War. When Herbal takes Daniel Da Barca to the railway station in Coruña the newspaper headline announces: "Hitler y Franco se entrevistan" (*El lápiz*: 135) ["Hitler and Franco meet" (*Pencil*: 111)].[129] Later, when the prison train gets stuck on a siding, the 'arqueología helada de convoyes varados y cobertizos que parecían panteones de esqueletos ferroviarios' (*El lápiz*: 143) ['frozen archaeology of stranded trains and sheds that resembled pantheons of railway skeletons' (*Pencil*: 119)] is redolent of Holocaust imagery.

After the disappearance of the ghost of the painter from the historical narrative, at the end of the novel the memory of the civil war returns in the form of 'dolor fantasma' (*El lápiz*: 189) ['phantom pain' (*Pencil*: 160)]. The metaphor of an amputated limb refers to an incident in the civil war. When a prisoner who had lost his foot after being shot in the ankle by Herbal complained of the pain that he felt in that foot, Doctor Da Barca diagnosed his suffering as 'dolor fantasma' (*El lápiz*: 110) ['phantom pain' (*Pencil*: 88)]. The idea of the missing limb producing a pain that is imagined yet also real inherently links to the spectre of the Republican painter. Previously, the spectre explained 'dolor fantasma' to Herbal as 'el peor de los dolores. Un dolor que llega a ser insoportable. La memoria del dolor. El dolor de lo que tu pierdes' (*El lápiz*: 113, translation modified) ['the worst pain you can get, a pain that becomes unbearable. The memory of pain. The pain of what you have lost' (*Pencil*: 91)].[130] Although Herbal has told his memories, the idea of him suffering from an augmented repetition of a physical injury shows there has been no "end of history" in other words, a closure of the historical narrative. Rather, the novel suggests Spain is haunted by the memories of its civil war and Francoist past.[131] The concept of 'dolor fantasma' represents the memory of the pain of what has previously been and its return in the present. It embodies both a current injury and a past scar. Thus, it recognises the existence of the past loss along with the linked present suffering. Through the idea of Herbal being haunted by 'el peor

[129] Nichols observes that the headline literally inscribes the historical event 'en la conciencia colectiva de España (y el mundo)' ['in the collective consciousness of Spain (and the world)'] (2006: 170-71).

[130] In its translation from Galician into Spanish the explanation of 'dolor fantasma' has undergone a self-referential deletion. In *O lapis do carpinteiro*, the Galician original, the passage reads 'a peor das dores, unha dor que chega a ser insoportable. A memoria da dor. A dor do que perdiches' (Rivas 1998: 90), but the final sentence of the description has been omitted in the Spanish translation. It is added above as 'El dolor de lo que tu pierdes'.

[131] For Labanyi, the concept of "dolor fantasma" illustrates the novel's 'theme of the past's afterlife in the present' (2007: 101). See also Folkart 2006: 311.

de los dolores. Un dolor que llega a ser insoportable' Rivas's text characterises the Transition's refusal to recognise the Republican losses as an act of historical violence. The underside of the "pacto del olvido" is, the novel implies, an impossible yet palpable anguish which physically permeates Spain.

However, the notion of 'dolor fantasma' is also an act of mourning for the memories of the civil war and Francoist past. *El lápiz del carpintero* thus illustrates the 'performative' aspect of Derrida's hauntological reading of history (Labanyi, *Memory, trauma and reparation*: 17). As much as the production of knowledge about the civil war and Francoist past, the novel is about making 'reparation' to its ghosts from the perspective of the present (17).

Conclusion

In this chapter I have argued that the spectre of the painter that haunts Herbal the Nationalist guard represents the exclusion of the Republican past from Spain's collective memory of the civil war but also its return. I have shown how the ghost is a metaphor for the Republican otherness — the people, the history and culture — that was subsumed into the Francoist version of memory. I have demonstrated that the spectre not only pertains to the Franco era but also the Spanish Transition. In returning invisible historical and cultural narratives I have argued that the ghost symbolises the resurgence of Republican memories of the civil war and Francoist past after 1998. I have emphasized that Herbal's dialogue with the spectre illustrates the work of mourning. At the same time, the spectre's articulation of 'other' historical and cultural knowledge returns the notion of a heterogeneous inheritance and gestures towards future possibilities.

Through the spectre's embodiment of the Levinasian 'other', *El lápiz del carpintero* represents, I have shown, an ethical reading of the memories of the civil war and Francoist past. I have highlighted how the novel's representation of the trans-generational transmission of memories converges with the concept of the Republican 'other'. In addition, I have demonstrated that Herbal's personification of the traces of the Francoist past in the present symbolises its legacies in contemporary Spain. Thus, I have argued that Rivas's novel places the memory of the Spanish Civil War in a European context.

Chapter Four

Memory as bare life in *El hijo del acordeonista* [*The Accordionist's Son*] (2003) by Bernardo Atxaga

Introduction

The previous chapter looked at the return of the memory of the civil war and Francoist past in the form of spectral legacies. In this final chapter of the thesis I aim to show how Giorgio Agamben's theory of bare life casts light on the representation of the memory of the civil war in *El hijo del acordeonista* [*The Accordionist's Son*] (2003) by Bernardo Atxaga. I argue that the novel is an alternative memorialisation of the civil war that recalls the ritual aspect of the Francoist wartime violence and thus marks the memory of the erosion of humanity. At the same time, through its textual reconstruction *El hijo del acordeonista* requires the reader to participate in building the public memory of the war. In the form of the trans-generational transmission of memories, the novel produces a political and ethical reading of the Francoist past. Atxaga's representation of historical reality thus counters the predominant monument of the Franco regime, the *Valle de los Caídos* ['Valley of the Fallen'] and contrasts with the nationwide commemoration of the end of the war in 1964, the so-called "Veinticinco años de Paz" ["Twenty-five years of Peace"]. But the novel also symbolises the emergence of Republican memories into the public sphere since around 1998. I trace how *El hijo del acordeonista* is a work of mourning for the memory of the civil war that simulates the movement of bare life to political life. As well as Republican memories, I argue that the novel's re-construction of the collective cultural memory of the civil war includes legacies linked to the Francoist side. Thus, I suggest, for contemporary generations of Spaniards *El hijo del acordeonista* represents the idea of a shared and communal past.

From biopolitics to bare life

Before moving to a discussion of the novel I wish to set out Agamben's concept of bare life (*nuda vita*, in Italian), which expands Michel Foucault's work on the relation of politics to life. Along with Hannah Arendt, Foucault pioneered the notion that in modernity natural life was brought into 'the mechanisms and calculations of State power' and thus 'politics' became '*biopolitics*': politics of life, in other words (Agamben 1998: 3, italics in original). According to Foucault, biopolitics/bio-power originated in the seventeenth century and developed in two interlinked directions: firstly, the concept of 'the body as a machine' that could be disciplined and harnessed for optimum economic use, and secondly that of 'the species body, the body imbued with the mechanics of life and serving as the basis of the biological processes' — births, deaths, life expectancies, longevities, for example — that could be supervised through a complete range of 'interventions and *regulatory controls: a bio-politics of the population*' (1981: 139, italics in original).[132] In the eighteenth century, life's entry 'into the order of knowledge and power, […] the sphere of political techniques' was intrinsic to 'the development of capitalism' (141-42).

Foucault had contrasting views of power's management and modulation of life. On the one hand he regarded it as 'a positive influence' (137), claiming the bringing of 'life and its mechanisms' into the domain of 'explicit calculations' had 'made knowledge-power an agent of transformation of human life' (143). But on the other hand the rise of bio-power meant society had reached a "threshold of modernity", a point where the human species was risking its very existence 'on its own political strategies' (143). Memorably, he asserted, '[f]or millennia, man remained what he was for Aristotle: a living animal with the additional capacity for a political existence; modern man is an animal whose politics places his existence as a living being in question' (143).[133]

Foucault's idea of biopolitics as a modern political condition is partially shared by Agamben, who claims, 'the politicization of bare life as such […] constitutes the

[132] Foucault generally refers to bio-power, but terms the arm of such power that is about regulating the population bio-politics (1981: 139).

[133] Norris observes that Aristotle does not, in fact, think 'political life can simply be added on to human life' as Foucault's reading implies (Norris 2005: 3). For Aristotle, 'The man who is isolated — who is unable to share in the benefits of political association, or has no need because he is already self-sufficient — is no part of the *polis*, and must therefore be either a beast or a god' (Aristotle 1.2.14, cited in Norris 2005: 3). A genuinely human existence is achieved by being part of a *polis*, Aristotle says, since 'it is only as such that one can truly speak' (3-4).

decisive event of modernity' (1998: 4). Agamben also expands Foucault's theory by joining it to Hannah Arendt's 'critique of modern society', which identified 'a progressive incursion of "nature" into "culture"' that eventually led to 'the gas chambers at Auschwitz' (Swift 2009: 145). Similarly, Agamben echoes Arendt's assessment of 'the modern world as a space in which the biological life processes of labour and consumerism' have come to take precedence on 'the political stage', which means politics has redefined its *raison d'être* as that of protecting 'those life processes' (Swift 2009: 145-46).[134] But whereas Foucault and Arendt see the political focus on life as an entirely modern phenomenon, Agamben observes that it is traceable 'back to classical times' (Vilaseca 2009: 4).

According to Aristotle politics and life were separate domains, which meant the mode of living for 'an individual or a group' — *bios* in Greek — was based on an exclusion of the biological life — *zoē* — that was common to all living creatures: animals, men and gods (Agamben 1998: 1). Similarly, whereas 'simple, natural life' was situated in the private sphere — the *oikos* — political life took place within the public domain: the *polis* (2). However, Agamben insists biological/bare life was actually intrinsic to political life and indeed its central, if also hidden, concern (6). The open political focus on life in modernity identified by Foucault and Arendt has, then, simply exposed 'the secret tie' linking 'power and bare life' (6). Agamben thus diverges from Aristotle's idea that politics is based on a division between 'the simple fact of living (*to zën*)' and 'politically qualified life (*to eu zën*)': so, "born with regard to life, but existing essentially with regard to the good life" (Aristotle 1252b, 30, cited in Agamben 1998: 2). Andrew Norris remarks that Aristotle's distinction has become foundational to Western political philosophy, as it establishes politics as 'something more' than the reproduction of 'biological life' (2005: 3). Politics adds, then, to life. Since the outcome of politics diverges 'from that of the various realms of bare life such as family life […] and village association' its organising principle also differs (3). The "something more" that makes politics different is justice: 'the human capacity' to build 'a just common life' through 'the community's noncoercive, deliberative reflection upon the question of what justice is, and what concrete measures it entails' (3). In Aristotle's words: "Justice belongs to the *polis*: for justice, which is the determination

[134] Agamben thereby links Arendt's arguments from *The Human Condition* and *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (Swift 2009: 147).

[*krisis*] of what is just, is an ordering of the political association" (Aristotle 1978: 1.2. 16, cited in Norris 2005: 3).

Agamben argues that Aristotle's distinction between life and the good life simultaneously points to the existence of the former in the latter: 'of bare life in politically qualified life' (1998: 7). Western politics is thus based on a stated exclusion of bare life that is likewise an inclusion (7). Consequently, the status of bare life effectively dissolves the classical boundary between *zoē* and *bios*, the home and the city (Swift 2009: 146). Moreover, according to Agamben, the centrality of bare life to political life in modernity has made it 'the hidden foundation' of the contemporary Western state, thus rendering it what he terms a 'state of exception' (1998: 9). As Vilaseca expresses it, in making bare life 'the very centre of its concerns, the modern State […] betrays its structural and symbolic dependency on what otherwise it must constantly cast aside' (2009: 1).[135]

Agamben contends the relation between bare life and political life is the innermost centre of sovereign power: its 'original — if concealed — nucleus' (1998: 6). Drawing on Carl Schmitt's definition of sovereignty as 'the power to make an exception to juridical norms' (Swiffen and Kellogg 2011: 3), he argues the sovereign exception remains essentially bound to the law in a '*relation of exception*': a limit relation, whereby something or someone 'is included solely through its [or their] exclusion' (1998: 18, italics in original). The exception is not, then, truly removed from the scope of the law. Since the exception is key to sovereignty's structure, sovereignty is not an exclusively juridical or political concept, but 'the originary structure in which law refers to life and includes it in itself by suspending it' (28). Following Jean-Luc Nancy, Agamben stipulates the 'relation of exception' is precisely a 'relation of ban', since the exception is '*abandoned*' within the ambit of the law (1998: 28, italics in original, and 58). The sovereign exception thus indicates the legal abandonment of life (28).

For Agamben, the notion of the sovereign exception symbolises how bare life effectively exists in a 'direct confrontation' with sovereign power (Swift 2009: 146). Since bare life is stripped of legal protection it stands utterly exposed to sovereign violence and can be extinguished by such power at any time. As Swiffen and Kellogg observe, Agamben's view of sovereignty is therefore 'Hobbes in reverse' (2011: 4).

[135] Vilaseca reads the life and work of the openly gay Spanish intellectual Alberto Cardín as bare life in the Spanish Transition (2009: 637-57).

Whereas Hobbes sees the sovereign as a 'remedy' for the 'state of nature', conceptualised as 'a war of all against all, and the life of man "solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short"' (Blackburn 1994: 176 and 363), for Agamben, conversely, 'sovereignty produces the state of nature' by way of 'the state of exception' in which there is no stop on violence (Swiffen and Kellogg 2011: 4).

Agamben's use of the term bare life echoes Walter Benjamin's elaboration of 'the link between violence and law' as *bloßes Leben* ["bare", "naked" or "mere life"] in *Critique of Violence* (Benjamin 1978: 297; Agamben 1998: 4-5, 65 and 83, cited in Vilaseca 2009: n. 1, p. 22).[136] Importantly, however, as we have seen, for Agamben, bare life not only refers to life placed outside of sovereign protection but also substitutes for the Greek term *zoē* (McLoughlin 2010: 1). In this way, 'the juridical problem of sovereignty' is married 'to the philosophical definition of both the human as a speaking being, and the political as a linguistic form of life' (1-2). The notion of bare life therefore 're-works the very idea of nature or *zoē* as it has been inherited from the philosophical tradition' (2). Instead of 'an originary natural condition that is transcended' to obtain 'linguistic and human being', Agamben views *zoē* as the bare life produced by the inscription of 'a division within life' — precisely, what he argues is Aristotle's "continuum of life" — 'which then exists in a relation of inclusive exclusion [to] man's rational capacity from which it is separated' (4).[137]

The figure of the *homo sacer*

The concept of bare life is embodied by an obscure figure of ancient Roman law called the *homo sacer* [sacred man] (8). Agamben highlights that the Latin word *sacer* is charged with ambiguity, since it has two oppositional meanings: "sacred and damned" (78). A thing or person designated *sacer* was legally isolated or banned, because touching it or them would spread contamination to oneself and others (79).[138] Although the life of the *homo sacer* was sacrosanct, it was, then, simultaneously cursed (72). Indeed, these persons — *homines sacri* — lived in a state of legal abandonment, since instead of being protected by the law they were invalidated, condemned (82 and 84).

[136] Where Vilaseca gives "bare" or "mere life", I have added Agamben's synonym "naked life" (Mills 2005: n. 5, p. 219).
[137] Agamben elaborates his reading of Aristotle's "continuum of life" in *The Work of Man* (2007) (McLoughlin 2010: 4).
[138] My description summarises and combines citations from Fowler's 'The Original Meaning of the Word *Sacer*' (1920) and Alfred Ernout-Meillet's *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine* (1932) (Agamben 1998: 79).

The *homo sacer* might be killed 'with impunity' by anyone at any time, but he could not be 'put to death according to ritual practices' (72).[139] In other words, although he was subject to an 'unsanctionable killing', his execution could be classified 'neither as sacrifice nor as homicide' (82). The *homo sacer* was, then, in two ways a liminal figure, 'a limit concept of the Roman social order' (73-74). Included, yet excluded in human and divine law alike, he constituted a kind of outgrowth: 'an excrescence […] of the profane in the religious and of the religious in the profane' (83).

Stripped of citizen rights, the *homo sacer* had no ontological status in a political or juridical sense. Rather, he was 'a living dead man, or a living man who is actually a *larva*' the Latin for a ghost or mask (99, italics in original). Legally coupled to death, he belonged 'neither to the world of the living nor to the world of the dead' (99). Instead, he subsisted somewhere in between: on a 'threshold' between life and death (99). The word "threshold" does not here mean an entry point as, for example, in Foucault's idea that biopolitics brought society to a "threshold of modernity" (1981: 143). As Agamben uses it, a "threshold" denotes rather an inherently ambivalent state: 'a passage' that cannot be accomplished, 'a distinction that can be neither maintained nor eliminated' (Norris 2005: 4).

The *homo sacer* effectively represents, then, a politically and legally constituted ghost. Agamben argues that this individual has 'a paradigmatic, trans-historical status: he represents the originary figure of "bare life"' — in classical politics, *zoē* — brought within 'the biopolitical state' (Vilaseca 2009: 5). The *homo sacer* thus symbolises the primary essence of 'sovereign power' (Agamben 1998: 83). He embodies the inclusive exclusion of bare life in political life, recalling 'the originary exclusion through which the political dimension was first constituted' (83). Norris observes that sovereignty's relation to bare life exemplifies 'the logic of sacrifice' (2005: 9). Although aimed at neither a legal nor religious end — it is 'neither capital punishment nor a sacrifice' (Agamben 1998: 114) — paradoxically, sovereignty's relation to bare life constitutes a sacrifice that is party to and affirming of 'the economy or logic of the legal/religious system as a metaphysical, political system' (Norris 2005: 10). Such sacrifice enacts, then, 'the metaphysical assertion of the human' over and above those designated lesser humans and thus, we must emphasize, less than human (10). Through the elimination of

[139] I use the pronoun 'he' as the *homo sacer* was always male in the Roman context.

bare life — its shedding, we might say — politics ensures its 'transcendence of […] bodily, animal life' (10).

Bare life marks, then, the symbolic erosion of humanity. However, such erosion is not limited to the physical extinction of life but also relates to language. Following Aristotle, Agamben argues politics exists because 'man is the living being who, in language, separates and opposes himself to his own bare life' — the life from which man stems — while sustaining himself with regard to that life in the form of 'an inclusive exclusion' (1998: 8). The 'dialectic' between political life and bare life is not, then, one 'between two comparable moments of the human, for it is only political life that is truly lived in language, that can truly speak' (Norris 2005: 4). Accordingly, bare life is articulated from an already negated position, a non-place we might say (4).

As Vilaseca highlights, the included/excluded nature of bare life means it inherently 'stands for (or is made to figure) the "non-linguistic"' (2009: 6). Agamben points out that bare life's linguistic status accords with the presuppositional structure of language: its existence 'outside and inside itself' (1998: 21).[140] In this sense, he suggests language is comparable to sovereignty's power to denote the line between the legal and the non-legal. Indeed, language practically acts as a sovereign power, since it produces 'a permanent state of exception', by simultaneously declaring 'there is nothing outside language' even as 'language is always beyond itself' (21). Language therefore articulates 'the bond of inclusive exclusion to which a thing' — a person or a place — 'is subject because of the fact of being in language, of being named', instead of anonymous as such (21). Given that we are always within language,

> Everything that is presupposed for there to be language (in the forms of something non-linguistic, something ineffable, etc.) is nothing other than a presupposition of language that is maintained as such in relation to language precisely insofar as it is excluded from language. (50)

Bare life is, then, a linguistic end point as it is a legal extreme. While not necessarily abandoned in the sense of being subjected to violence, the "non-linguistic" resides within language even as — when or where — it stays unspoken. Perhaps most

[140] Agamben suggests this structure was first understood by Hegel, who described language as "the perfect element in which interiority is as external as exteriority is internal" (1977: 527-529, cited in Agamben 1998: 21).

importantly, as the "non-linguistic" bare life has no recourse to justice. Instead, it symbolises non-justice.

Agamben's key claim is that a politics which self-consciously advocates 'the fact of human life as a value' also 'gives itself the power to take life away' (Swift 2009: 146). He contends the concentration camp marked a new phase in biopolitical power as it signalled the normalisation of 'the state of exception' (Agamben 1998: 170). In other words, the camp meant what had formerly been a temporary state of affairs — the 'suspension of the juridico-political order' — became a 'stable spatial arrangement' (175). The camp is, then, the supreme embodiment of sovereign power: its absolute incarnation (123). As such, the camp is 'the hidden paradigm of the political space of modernity' (123). Moreover, Agamben claims the centrality of bare life to political life is not restricted to 'totalitarian regimes', but similarly 'founds liberal democracy' (Swift 2009: 146). Consequently, in disguised form the camp — the environment in which life is subjected to sovereign violence — effectively remains with us today. Thus, while Jewish people under Nazism are bare life, and the so-called *Muselmann* ["Muslim"] from the death camps the most blatant figure, we also find multiple instances in the contemporary Western state (Agamben 1998: 114 and 184-85).[141] We might look, for example, to 'detainees in Guantánamo Bay' (Swiffen and Kellogg 2011: 4). Another illustration would be refugees with a diminished juridical status (Agamben 1998: 131). As Fitzpatrick remarks, while refugees are recognized 'as part of the "human" community' by 'international and national laws', recent moves by some states have sought to bracket them 'in terms closer to a "bare," rightless existence' (2005: 69). Slavoj Žižek suggests 'the *sans papiers* in France', people living in 'the *favelas* in Brazil' and the inhabitants of 'African-American ghettos in the USA' are all contemporary versions of the *homo sacer* as are those whom affluent Western societies understand as recipients of 'humanitarian help (Rwandans, Bosnians, Afghans…)' (2002: 91-92). Although Žižek's examples broadly illustrate bare life, to my mind some are a questionable fit: for example, people in African-American ghettos do not have their political and juridical rights suspended per se, including those for language.

Vogt observes that Agamben's view of biopolitics as the sign of 'a structural and logical overlap of National Socialism and liberal democracy' is reminiscent of

[141] Primo Levi suggested the *Muselmann* was someone that 'humiliation, horror, and fear had so taken away all consciousness and all personality as to make him absolutely apathetic' (Agamben 1998: 185). See also Levi 1987 [1979]: 96.

Adorno's caution about 'the afterlife of National Socialism in democratic structures': "I consider the survival of National Socialism *within* democracy to be potentially more menacing than the survival of fascistic tendencies *against* democracy" (1998: 90, cited in Vogt 2005: 80, italics in original). For Agamben, the logic of biopolitics means that bare life is almost everywhere, since the biopolitical system has at its core 'a *dislocating localization*', a kind of excess or spillage 'into which every form of life and every rule can be virtually taken' (175, italics in original). Such politics is contingent, then, on producing a state of inclusive exclusion. Moreover, Agamben regards bare life as an almost unavoidable human condition: 'perhaps […] we are all virtually *homines sacri*' he moots (1998: 115, italics in original). Butler points out that bare life might seem, then, to proffer 'a certain universality', something that affects us all alike (2006: 67-68). But in practice, she stipulates, the state of exception is never a blanket ban. Instead, sovereignty's *modus operandi* is to differentiate between populations, 'to derealize the humanity of subjects who might potentially belong to a community bound by commonly recognized laws' (68).

Agamben maintains the division between bare life and political life is an irreconcilable inner disjunction (1998: 11). The basic pair of the Western political structure is not one 'of friend/enemy', he claims, but 'bare life/political existence, *zoē/bios*, exclusion/inclusion' (8). Vitally, however, since political life stems from bare life — just as *bios* evolved from *zoē* — the relation between bare life and political life is never a static state, not, then, set in stone. Rather, there is a continuous transition 'from bare life to political life', which also defines them both (Norris 2005: 8). Since politics cannot divest itself of bare life, remove itself as such, it must always address the ambiguous territory 'between itself and the bare life that is both included within and excluded from its body' (8). This territory inherently fluctuates as political life stems from bare life yet also extends beyond its scope (8).[142] The ongoing movement from bare life to political life means 'the foundation of the modern city' remains 'continually operative in the civil state in the form of the sovereign decision' (Agamben 1998: 109). Crucially, this activity is not, however, plain to see: since the foundation has a 'hidden' character bare life's political role is not on show as such. The relation of bare life to political life is also altered by bare life's overt politicization, through, for example, 'declarations of rights' (131). Whenever bare life emerges out of the *oikos* and enters

[142] Norris suggests Aristotle may already have indicated '[t]he instability of the distinction between political and apolitical life' (2005: n. 32, p. 24).

into the city, 'the foundation of sovereignty' must be re-established anew (131). In other words, politics' underlying foundation must effectively be replaced.

Drawing on the idea that the logic of biopolitics means that almost any form of life can become bare life I will now explore how the theory of bare life pertains to the memory of the civil war in *El hijo del acordeonista* by Bernardo Atxaga. I will argue that the novel represents the reality of the ritual element of the Francoist violence and thus marks the erosion of humanity. *El hijo del acordeonista* is an alternative memorialisation of the war that shows how the Republican past was constituted as bare life in the Francoist state. At the same time, through its reconstruction of the public memory of the war the novel simulates the movement of bare life into political life at the level of language. I show how the Republican past that was rendered invisible in Spain's collective memory for more than sixty years is reconstructed as a textual memorial. The novel is a work of mourning that counters the Franco regime's nationwide commemoration of the end of the war in 1964, the so-called "Veinticinco años de Paz" ["Twenty-five years of Peace"], and symbolises the emergence of Republican memories into the public sphere since around 1998.

Synopsis

Atxaga's novel is chiefly set in the fictional localities of Obaba in the Basque Country and a remote place called Stoneham Ranch in California. Its plot spans 1933 to 2002 and centres on 1936, 1964 and 1999. The novel consists of two intertwined stories: that of David Imaz, the eponymous accordionist's son, who writes a memoir about growing up in Obaba in the 1950s and 1960s, and that of Joseba, David's childhood friend, who re-writes and expands David's memoir after his death.

I focus on 1964 when the teenage David lives with his parents: Ángel, a professional accordionist and local councillor, and Carmen, who runs a sewing workshop from home. David, who is learning to play the accordion, divides his time between Obaba and the hamlet of Iruain, where Carmen and her brother, Juan, have a house. Juan lives in Stoneham Ranch, California but returns to Iruain every summer. In July, 1964 David learns from his schoolfriends that nine local civilians linked to the Second Republic were shot in Obaba in the civil war. Ten days later, Juan shows David a secret hiding-place in the house at Iruain and tells him how he saved Don Pedro from execution by hiding him there. Don Pedro owned the Hotel Alaska, but was forced to sell it to the military by Berlino, who is friends with Ángel. In 1964, Berlino and his

family still live at the hotel. After Ángel announces a new war memorial is going to be built in Obaba, Teresa, Berlino's daughter, shows David a notebook of Ángel's she has found packed away in the hotel attic, which seemingly lists the people identified to be shot. David becomes haunted by the list and Ángel's role in the executions.

When Teresa asks David to play the accordion at the memorial inauguration ceremony, on Juan's advice he hides in the hiding-place instead. After the ceremony David learns the post-inauguration fiesta was boycotted and propaganda for a free Basque country was given out.

The plot switches to David's story about Juan saving Don Pedro in the civil war and then to the early 1970s. David, who is now at university, has returned to Obaba for the summer. When some university friends visit David in Iruain, he gradually realises they are underground activists. David and Joseba join the group. The plot returns to California in August, 1999, where Joseba is visiting the now unwell David in California in order to review their pasts. At the end of the novel David prepares to go into hospital.

Critical reception

Atxaga's novel was written in the Basque language and its original title is *Soinujolearen semea* (2003). It sold more than 15,000 copies within a year of being published.[143] The book has been translated into Spanish, Catalan and Galician, and from Spanish into many other languages.[144] My references are to the translation into Spanish by Asun Garikano and Bernardo Atxaga: *El hijo del acordeonista* (2004). I have also used the translation from Spanish into English by Margaret Jull Costa: *The Accordionist's Son* (2007). *Soinujolearen semea* was awarded the 2003 Premio de la Crítica (Basque).[145] The novel also won the 2003 Guipúzcoa booksellers' Euskadi Silver Prize.[146] Two literary awards were given to the Italian translation — *Il libro di mio fratello*, translated by Paola Tomasinelli — in 2008: the Grinzane Cavour Prize and the Mondello Prize for

[143] <http://www.elmundo.es/elmundolibro/2004/09/08/narrativa_espanyol/ 1094651936.html> [accessed 10 August 2011]
[144] <http://www.atxaga.org/bernardo-atxaga> [accessed 10 August 2011]
[145] <http://www.elpais.com/articulo/cultura/Luis/Garcia/Montero/Juan/Eduardo/Zuniga/obtienen/Premio/Nacional/Critica/elpepucul/20040403elpepucul_2/Tes> [accessed 10 August 2011]
[146] <http://www.elpais.com/articulo/pais/vasco/Atxaga/dedica/Euskadi/Plata/quienes/le/respaldaron/inicios/elpepiesppvs/20040703elpvas_2/Tes> [accessed 10 August 2011]

the best book of fiction in a foreign language (Santana 2009: n. 5, p. 215). The translation into English won a 2009 Times Literary Supplement Translation Prize.[147]

The novel had a very mixed press reception in Spain. In *El País*, Ignacio Echevarría slated the book, claiming it was constructed with a 'sentimentalidad jurásica' ['Jurassic sentimentality'] and '[l]a beatitud y el maniqueísmo de sus planteamientos' ['the beatitude and the Manichaeism of its depictions'] render it 'inservible […] como testimonio de la realidad vasca' ['unusable as a testimony to Basque reality'].[148] But in *La Vanguardia* Juan Antonio Masoliver Ródenas suggested Atxaga's 'espacio fabuloso' ['mythical space'] of Obaba 'surge de un espacio real que representa a Euskadi' ['emerges as a real space that represents Euskadi'] and the novel 'nos seduce y nos conmueve' ['seduces us and moves us'].[149]

In *ABC* José María Pozuelo Yvancos greatly praised the novel's 'construcción narrativa' ['narrative construction'], but claimed it was not a masterwork because its 'discurso sociopolítico' ['socio-political discourse'] — that ETA resulted from the Francoist violence in the civil war — is one 'que la novela ha renunciado a problematizar y ni siquiera se plantea' ['which the novel has renounced neither to problematize nor address'].[150] According to Pozuelo, Atxaga thus 'resuelve el problema de los orígenes de ETA de un modo excesivamente fácil' ['resolves the problem of the origins of ETA in an excessively simple way'].[151] But in *Revista de libros de la Fundación Caja Madrid* [*The Madrid Foundation Box Review of books*] Jon Kortazar said *El hijo del acordeonista* was 'una de las obras más importantes escritas y publicadas en lengua vasca en los últimos años' ['one of the most important works written and published in the Basque language in the last years'] (2004: 54). For Kortazar, Atxaga provides a reminiscence about 'dos momentos importantes en la historia de España y, por tanto, del País Vasco: la Guerra Civil y la transición a la democracia, vistos desde el particular discurrir histórico del mundo de Obaba' ['two

[147] <http://www.atxaga.org/news/1263546775> [accessed 16 January 2015]
[148] <http://www.elpais.com/articulo/semana/elegia/pastoral/elpeputec/20040904elpbabese_3/Tes> [accessed 16 August 2011]
[149] <http://hemeroteca.lavanguardia.com/search.html?fromISO=true&q=atxaga&aux=atxaga&bd=08&bm=09&by=2004&ed=08&em=09&ey=2004&x=59&y=8> [accessed 16 August 2011] (pp. 6-7)
[150] Yvancos, J.M.P. 'La ficción embellece', *ABC*, 4 September, 2004 <http://hemeroteca.abc.es/nav/Navigate.exe/hemeroteca/madrid/cultural/2004/ 09/04/009.html> [accessed 10 August 2011] (p. 9)
[151] Yvancos, J.M.P. 'La ficción embellece', *ABC*, 4 September, 2004 <http://hemeroteca.abc.es/nav/Navigate.exe/hemeroteca/madrid/cultural/2004/ 09/04/009.html> [accessed 10 August 2011] (p. 9)

important moments in the history of Spain and, thus, of the Basque Country: the Civil War and the transition to democracy seen from the particular historical reflection of the world of Obaba'] (54).

Reviews of the novel were mostly favourable in the UK. In *The Scotsman* Allan Massie averred it was 'in many ways a remarkable book', with 'the depth and amplitude of the classic novel'.[152] In *The Sunday Times* Tom Deveson acclaimed it as a 'superb' work, in which '[l]anguage and loss are intimately connected'.[153] According to Amaia Gabantxo in *The Times Literary Supplement* '[i]t is the first great Basque novel'.[154] In *The Independent* Michael Eaude said its 'triumph is to question the entire construction of romantic stories about the past', adding '[t]his most delicate and personal of novels packs a powerful political message'.[155] In *The Guardian* Nick Caistor claimed 'the push and counter-push' of political pressures on David 'as he contends with the weight of history and a sense of belonging' are 'most moving'.[156] In *The Observer* Helen Zaltzman termed the book 'a graceful, thought-provoking novel', in which 'many threads are unresolved'.[157] In *The Telegraph* Ed King hailed Atxaga's novel as 'a eulogy to the lost country of his youth and a moving defence of his role as a writer'.[158] However, some critics were less enthusiastic. In *The Saturday Telegraph* David Flusfeder claimed the novel 'reads like a slowly unfolding memoir', which is both its 'weakness and its strength'.[159] Further afield, in *The New York Times* Jascha Hoffman called it 'a sprawling novel', one in which 'the story line tends to fade behind a screen of expository dialogue and a swarm of walk-on characters', but credited Atxaga with leaving certain 'crucial questions […] unresolved'.[160] But in the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* Albrecht Buschmann praised the book's 'poetische Stärke' ['poetic strength'], stating

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[152] <http://thescotsman.scotsman.com/critique/Generation-shame.3643103.jp> [accessed 10 August 2011]
[153] <http://www.thesundaytimes.co.uk/sto/culture/books/fiction/article77922.ece> [accessed 15 January 2015]
[154] Gabantxo, A. 'Basque Fiction', *Times Literary Supplement*, 13 August 2004
[155] <http://www.independent.co.uk/arts-entertainment/books/reviews/the-accordionists-son-by-bernardo-atxaga-trans-margaret-jull-costa-776568.html> [accessed 16 January 2015]
[156] <http://www.guardian.co.uk/books/2008/jan/12/fiction3> [accessed 10 August 2011]
[157] <http://www.guardian.co.uk/books/2008/nov/02/accordionist-son-bernardo-atxaga> [accessed 10 August 2011]
[158] <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/culture/books/fictionreviews/3670400/What-motivates-a-Basque-terrorist.html> [accessed 19 August 2011]
[159] <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/culture/books/ fictionreviews/3670097/Uncle-Juans-horse-and-the-rich-Fascists-daughter.html> [accessed 19 August 2011]
[160] <http://www.nytimes.com/2009/02/15/books/review/Hoffman-t.html?scp=1&sq=&st=nyt> [accessed 10 August 2011]

'die erzählerische Verknüpfung von Francos Schatten, der auf die lange unpolitischen Kinder der Täter fällt, und dem Aufbegehren gegen die Eltern [...] ist feinsinnig gewoben' ['the narrative connection of Franco's shadow, that falls on the for a long time non-political children of the perpetrators, and the revolt against the parents (…) is delicately woven'].[161]

El hijo del acordeonista has spawned a good deal of scholarly analysis. For Juan Antonio Masoliver Ródenas, Atxaga's novel portrays the fictional location of Obaba as 'un mundo dolorosamente dividido' ['a painfully divided world'] and is a book 'de una pérdida y el dolor de una imposible utopía' ['of a loss and the pain of an impossible utopia'] (2009: 302-04). Iñigo Barbancho observes the novel is 'marcadamente metaliterario' ['markedly metatextual'] and highlights its intertextuality with Virgil's works: the *Ecologues* or *Georgics* and the *Aeneid* (2007: 80-81). In a second article, Barbancho claims the novel shares several characteristics with *El jinete polaco* [*The Polish Rider*] by Antonio Muñoz Molina (2002 [1991]), including the spatial semanticization of the past as Obaba and a fictional Spanish provincial town called Mágina respectively (2007a: 1-2). For Barbancho, *El hijo del acordeonista* is similar to Muñoz Molina's novel because 'el pasado, al ser narrado, es decir, al ser recuperado y fijado en un relato, resulta contaminado por elementos de ficción' ['the past, in being narrated, that is to say, in being recuperated and fixed in a story is contaminated by fictional elements'] (4). However, whereas in *El jinete polaco* the past 'se "maquilla" […] pero sigue conservando su naturaleza histórica' ['is "made up" (…) but goes on conserving its historical nature'], in *El hijo del acordeonista* 'el pasado deja de ser historia para transformarse en literatura' ['the past stops being history in order to transform itself into literature'] (4).

I agree with Barbancho's assessment of the similarities between *El hijo del acordeonista* and *El jinete polaco*, to which I would add that both also focus on the trans-generational transmission of memory. But to my mind the past does not lose its historical character through its transformation into literature in Atxaga's novel. Rather, I would suggest, the novel addresses historical reality via its representation in literature.

Alfredo J. Sosa-Velasco suggests *El hijo del acordeonista* is comparable to Carme Riera's *La meitat de l'ànima* [*La mitad del alma*/Half of the Soul], as both novels are concerned with 'the construction of national identities in the context of

[161] <http://www.nzz.ch/articleEHKGO-1.65157> [accessed 10 August 2015]

minority literatures in the global scene' (2009: 235). Sosa-Velasco sees *El hijo del acordeonista* as what Pierre Nora would call a "*lieu de mémoire*" ["site of memory"] — a place where individual memory survives by dint of being connected to the present via 'oral and written tradition' (235-36). Since David not only tells his stories 'to other characters within the diegesis[…] but also outside of it', to the novel's readers, as he writes down his stories 'in order to conserve them', the novel enables 'the possible perpetuation of [an] individual past' by producing 'a collective space' (239). By producing its own referents in, for example, the form of the Francoist monument, *El hijo del acordeonista* opposes 'official history' by 'offering a space where memory can reside' (240).

Sosa-Velasco observes that 'the narratee' of David's stories is implicated as a witness because they 'are present as someone who participates in the re-experience of the events' (241). The reader shares this role since they replace the narratee outside the text (241). *El hijo del acordeonista* therefore raises 'ethical questions' for the reader by making them 'responsible for being present, for being a witness' (242).

I accord with Sosa-Velasco's interpretation of *El hijo del acordeonista* as a "*lieu de mémoire*" that re-inscribes individual memory by creating a collective space through oral and written tradition. In my argument, however, the novel's production of a collective memory represents the movement of bare life into political life. I also agree that the novel contests official history and implicates the reader as a witness to memory, thus posing ethical questions about the Spanish past. But I will argue that the reader's involvement reflects the novel's trans-generational transmission of memory.

According to Txetxu Aguado, Atxaga's novel proffers 'a new model of Basque identity' through its 'reflexión sobre la memoria' ['reflection on memory'] (2009: 89-91). By means of the writing of a narrative 'los personajes se reconozcan a sí mismos en una identidad *tranquila*, que gracias a la escritura de *duelo* [...], y a la reescritura del recuerdo, deje de ser la raíz de una violencia sin límite' ['the characters recognize themselves in a *tranquil* identity, which thanks to the (...) writing of *mourning*, and to the re-writing of memory, stops being the root of a limitless violence'] (92, italics in original). Aguado observes that David's discovery of 'la implicación de su padre en los fusilamientos […] abre una herida irreparable' ['his father's involvement in the shootings (…) opens an irreparable wound'] (94). David's writing thus becomes 'el proceso de duelo al enterrar las palabras y encerrar simbólicamente […] ese dolor insufrible sin medida cuando todavía no se le ha contenido' ['the process of mourning

for burying the words and symbolically containing this insufferable pain without measure of when it has already not been contained'] (97). But since David's writing is also 'la reescritura de Joseba […] escritura y lectura se enredan juntas desde el lugar único del lector' ['Joseba's re-writing (…) writing and reading are entangled from the unique place of the reader'] (97). Thus, '[e]l momento de la melancolía sin consuelo ha encontrado una delimitación en el espacio y tiempo de la escritura, y ha encontrado también una salida a su exterior: al lector' ['(t)he period of inconsolable melancholia encounters a delimitation in the space and time of the writing, and also finds an exit to its outside: to the reader'] (98).

I concur that the novel inscribes a new Basque identity through its writing of memory. Similarly, I agree that *El hijo del acordeonista* is a work of mourning that involves the reader. However, I intend to show how David's personal, private mourning has a political/public aspect that illustrates the movement of bare life into political life.

For Lorraine Ryan, Atxaga's novel presents a 'dichotomy between the rural and the urban', which unwittingly substantiates the Francoist notion of the rural as a regressive space (2014: 160-61). Ryan emphasizes that David's writing of his memoir in California puts Basque memory into a global space (171). Through its trans-national reach the memoir is 'an act of trans-generational transmission of counter-memory' which seeks to ensure its perpetuation by melding 'local and international memories' (174).

I accord that the novel's trans-generational transmission of counter-memories has a trans-national character, but for me this reflects how Spain's resurgence of memories of the civil war and Francoist past links to international politics of memory.

As Mari José Olaziregi sees it, Atxaga's novel has 'two narrative planes, two realities' and a 'fragmentary' character that renders it what Roland Barthes would call a "scriptible" ["writerly"] text: one that 'readers must make their own, organizing the plot as they read' (2005: 246).[162] Referencing Barthes's claim, 'the birth of the reader must come at the cost of the death of the author', she suggests *Soinujolearen semea* marks a point of literary departure for Atxaga as he effectively disappears in the text (259). For Olaziregi, the unravelling of the author is 'a literary strategy' that links to the novel's intertextuality, whereby 'almost without realizing it' the reader comes across 'tales, characters, and events' from Atxaga's earlier works (259). The self-reflexive undoing of

[162] Olaziregi references the Basque original: *Soinujolearen semea* (2003).

'Atxaga the writer' means that readers 'encounter the Atxaga that lives in his texts' alongside the array of 'literary accomplices' he repeatedly invokes (261-62).

I accord with Olaziregi's view of Atxaga's work as what Barthes would term "scriptible", but I will argue that the book requires the reader to transform bare life into political life by building a textual memorial to the civil war.

In a second article, Olaziregi claims *El hijo del acordeonista* is a work of metafiction which shows how Atxaga's literary output 'se ha erigido en abanderada de una cultura de la *contramemoria*' ['has become a standard-bearer of a culture of *counter-memory*'] in which 'el acto de rememoración del pasado busca recuperar perspectivas marginadas por las versiones oficiales' ['the act of recalling the past seeks to recuperate views marginalised by the official versions'] (2011: 47, italics in original).[163] Olaziregi contends the most 'llamativo' ['striking'] aspect of Atxaga's book is its 'juego de voces narrativas' ['game of narrative voices'], as Joseba's re-writing of David's memoir, which 'cuestiona el aura del manuscrito original' ['questions the aura of the original manuscript'] means we cannot be certain to whom the narrative belongs (59-60). The novel is also a game of real-life and fiction, but instead of 'un pacto autobiográfico' ['an autobiographical pact'] Atxaga provides 'un pacto de ficción' ['a pact of fiction'] for the reader (60).

In addition, the reality-fiction game is attributable 'al peso que el pasado, la memoria, tiene en *El hijo del acordeonista*' ['to the weight that the past, memory, holds in *The Accordionist's Son*'] (61). Olaziregi links David Lowenthal's claim that the past is something we make up — 'una invención que mezcla datos imaginados y otro verídicos' ['an invention that mixes imagined and other true facts'] — to Walter Benjamin's view that the historian's task — and, Olaziregi adds, the writer's — resembles that of a collector 'que deambula las ruinas del pasado' ['who roams the ruins of the past'] so they can reconstruct 'con algunos trozos valiosos fragmentos de aquello que existió' ['with some valuable pieces fragments of that which existed'] (61). For Olaziregi, such fragments materialise in the novel's '*objetos* […] *espacios* […] [y] *símbolos* (como el monumento a los caídos en la guerra)' ['*objects* (…) *spaces* (…) (and) *symbols* (like the monument to the war dead)'], which are '*lugares de la memoria* que sirven para rememorar unos hechos traumáticos y proceder a la cura, al *working through* […] por medio de la creación literaria' ['*places of memory* that serve to recall

[163] In this instance, Olaziregi references the Spanish translation of the novel.

traumatic events and proceed to the cure, to *working through* (…) by means of literary creation'] (61-62, italics in original).

I agree with Olaziregi's reading of *El hijo del acordeonista* as a metafictional example of a culture of counter-memory and the recuperation of historical memory. I also concur that the novel's places of memory represent a working through by literary means. However, I emphasize the reader's role in the novel's work of mourning.

Mario Santana interprets the novel as 'the story of the writing, editing and translating of a book, the transformation of a personal memoir intended for a restricted audience into a public narrative […] [for] a globalized readership' (2009: 224). He emphasizes that 'language and translation' are therefore central to 'the narrative plot' (224). Santana highlights how the Spanish version of the novel, translated by Atxaga and Asun Garikano, uses Spanish but also leaves the Basque language visible by, for example, translating various words but also retaining them in Basque (218-20 and n. 11, p. 218). The Spanish translation also makes various modifications to the Basque original, including, for example, the addition of a poem "Muerte y vida de las palabras" ["The Death and Life of Words"] 'as epigraph' (225).[164] For Santana, the poem fulfils the most significant functions of the epigraph as identified by Gérard Genette: 'to emphasize the meaning of the text and set the tenor', which Genette calls the "epigraph-effect" (225-26).[165] The poem also represents a reversal of the usual order of things, because as in the novel 'death paves the way for life' (226).[166]

I accord with Santana's emphasis on the role of translation in the novel and its trans-national character in particular. Likewise, I agree that the poem "Muerte y vida de las palabras" illustrates what Genette would term the "epigraph-effect". Since an epigraph is an inscription on a monument to my mind the poem also signals the novel as a memorial to the civil war.

According to Jon Kortazar, Atxaga's novel focuses on David's relationship with 'his father, with reference to whom David defines himself: the son of the accordion

[164] The poem also appears in the English translation.

[165] Genette sets out how the epigraph 'consists of commenting on the *text*', by indirectly specifying or emphasizing its meaning (1997: 157, italics in original). Such commentary may be very obvious, but more frequently it is puzzling, with a significance that will only become clear when the reader has reached the end of the book (158). Thus, Genette concludes, '[t]he most powerful […] effect of the epigraph' may come simply from 'its presence' regardless of 'the epigraph itself', which is 'the epigraph-effect' (160).

[166] I have removed the brackets from '(death paves the way for life)' (2009: 226).

player and […] the fascist […] [from] the Spanish Civil War' (2005: 66).[167] Thus, it is 'as if, symbolically, the Basque Country were conceived and had its history as a son […] born in the injustice' of the war (66). For Kortazar, the novel is about changing David's 'personal memory into a social memory' (67). Citing Fentress and Wickham's claim, after Halbwachs, that 'individual memory' is made "social" in essence 'by talking about it' (1992: ix), Kortazar contends the novel is about 'verbalizing personal memory and, as soon as it is published and public, making it social', that is to say, 'an image that a community gives to itself of what happened' (67). *El hijo del acordeonista* is 'a game between individual and social memory', in which narrative plays with the intermingling of 'different planes of fiction and narrative voices' and 'the real and the fictitious' (68).

I concur with Kortazar's view of the relationship between David and his father as a metaphor for the legacy of the civil war in the Basque Country. I also agree the novel is about the articulation and transmission of David's personal/individual memory and thus making it into a social memory in the form of a collectively reflexive image of historical events. However, in my argument, this links to the trans-generational transmission of memories of the civil war and Francoist past. In addition, I suggest the book club readings are vital components of the social construction of memory.

Working from the premise that biopolitics means that almost any form of life can become bare life I now aim to demonstrate how *El hijo del acordeonista* depicts Republican memories of the civil war as bare life in the Francoist state. I argue that the novel's textual reconstruction of the public memory of the civil war simulates the movement of bare life into political life and thus produces a collective cultural memory of the civil war and Francoist past. Atxaga's novel is an alternative memorialisation that counters the predominant monument of the Franco regime, the *Valle de los Caídos* ['Valley of the Fallen'], and the nationwide commemoration of the end of the war in 1964, the so-called "Veinticinco años de Paz" ["Twenty-five years of Peace"]. Simultaneously, *El hijo del acordeonista* represents the resurgence of memories of the civil war and Francoist past in Spain's public sphere from around 1998.

[167] Kortazar references 'the Basque language edition' of the novel [2003] (2005: n. 6, p. 59).

Reviewing bare life memories

El hijo del acordeonista consists of David Imaz's writing of a personal memoir about growing up in the fictional locality of Obaba, which is posthumously re-written by his friend Joseba. The re-writing is highly self-conscious. After Joseba re-writes the memoir he tells us: 'El libro contiene las palabras que dejó escritas el hijo del acordeonista, y también las mías' (*El hijo*: 25) ['The book contains the words left by the accordionist's son as well as my own' (*Son*: 14)]. Thus, the novel is signalled as a hybrid text: *El hijo del acordeonista* is a dialogue between the living and the dead, the present and the past.

From the outset, memory — in the form of storytelling and retelling — is linked to the idea of life. At the start of the novel we are told that the epitaph on Juan's grave reads, <<Necesitaba dos vidas, sólo he tenido una>> (*El hijo*: 11) ["I could have done with two lives, but I only had one" (*Son*: 2)]. But after Juan recounts the story of two local shepherds meeting the actress Raquel Welch just before he dies Mary Ann remarks: <<La alegría que le proporcionaba la historia […] lo transfiguró. Pareció lleno de vida>> (*El hijo*: 33) ['The joy he felt in retelling the (…) story transformed him. He seemed so full of life' (*Son*: 21)]. Thereafter, David recounts that at Juan's funeral, 'hablé de la vida de Juan, <<tan llena de ánimo y de esperanza que habría merecido una segunda vida aún más larga>>' (*El hijo*: 33-34) ['(I) talked about Juan's life: "he was so full of energy and hope that he deserved to have a second, even longer life"' (*Son*: 21)]. David's reference to Juan's eulogy implicitly links David's memoir, and thus the novel, to Juan's generation. Although Juan only had one biological life, the implication that his story was not told connects him to the Republican past.

In the memoir and therefore the novel Republican memory is signalled as bare life by the reconstruction of the Obaba memorial to the civil war in 1964. When the monument is being built David watches its construction with his schoolfriends and teachers during their after-school ritual of gathering in the village square. He tells us,

> Susana y yo nos habíamos sentado con […] [César] en un banco, mientras los otros, Redin, Adrián, Joseba y Victoria, miraban de cerca el monumento que estaban levantando al otro lado de la plaza en honor a los muertos en la guerra. (*El hijo del acordeonista*: 157)[168]

[168] Hereafter, all references to the Spanish text are abbreviated to '*El hijo*'.

> [Susana and I had sat down with (…) (César) on a bench, while the others, Redin, Adrián, Joseba and Victoria, were studying the monument they were erecting on the other side of the square in honour of those who'd died in the civil war. (*The Accordionist's Son*: 124)][169]

The idea of the reconstruction of the Obaba war memorial as an object of scrutiny for a group of teachers and students — whereas David, Susana, Adrián, Joseba and Victoria are pupils, César is 'el [profesor] de ciencias' (*El hijo*: 135) ['the science teacher' (*Son*: 105)] and Redin, 'el de letras' (*El hijo*: 135) ['the literature teacher' (*Son*: 105)] — places it in a trans-generational, educational context. Instead of a finished construction, the memorial is drawn as a self-reflexive work-in-progress being built by an anonymous artist. César tells us the person making the monument has gone through three designs. We learn:

> <<Al final se ha decantado por una pirámide truncada. Primero hizo un cilindro, con la idea de inscribir todos los nombres en su superficie. Luego, una pirámide. Y ahora, ya veis, ha optado por quitarle el vértice>>. (*El hijo*: 157-58)

> ['In the end, he's gone for a truncated pyramid. First he made a cylinder, with the idea of having all the names inscribed on its surface. Then, he opted for a pyramid. And now, as you see, he's decided to lop the top off.' (*Son*: 124)]

The idea of the monument being built by an unnamed artist reflects Atxaga's absence in the novel. As stated earlier, drawing on Barthes' claim that 'the birth of the reader must come at the cost of the death of the author', Mari José Olaziregi has observed that *El hijo del acordeonista* marks a point of literary departure for Atxaga as he effectively disappears in the text (2005: 259). Following the theory of bare life, the novel signals how private memories of the civil war remained subject to the sovereign ban in Spain, 1964 (Agamben 1998: 28). The author's invisible presence reflects the historical reality of the erosion of Republican memories of the civil war from the public

[169] Hereafter, all references to the English translation are abbreviated to '*Son*'. In this instance, I have modified the English translation: 'Susana and I had sat down with him [César] on a bench and were studying the monument they were erecting on the other side of the square in honour of those who'd died in the civil war' (*Son*: 124).

sphere. Atxaga's virtual absence also relates to the Basque language, which was formally proscribed by the Nationalists when they occupied the Basque Country in April 1937 (Labanyi 1995: 208).

The reconstruction of the memorial is directly identified with extinguishing life. When the monument is compared to the one it is going to replace — 'una gran placa rectangular' (*El hijo*: 159) ['a large rectangular plaque' (*Son*: 125)] in the town hall arcade — César suggests:

> <<[E]sa pirámide truncada de la plaza expresa mucho mejor lo que pasó. Le han cercenado el vértice como se cercena la cabeza, como se quita la vida… >> (*El hijo*: 159-60)
>
> ['(T)hat truncated pyramid in the square captures what happened much more accurately. He's cut off the top, just as one cuts off a head, just as one takes away a life…' (*Son*: 126)]

In the light of the theory of bare life, the comparison of the construction of the monument to cutting off a head indicates it as a symbol of the sovereign ban, an act of political violence. Although the reconstruction of the monument is about remembering life its image as a decapitation or beheading symbolises a political death. The monument represents, then, a 'direct confrontation' between power and life (Swift 2009: 146). The text tells us we are watching the killing of memory in the form of a public execution.

The notion that the 'pirámide truncada […] expresa mucho mejor lo que pasó' ['truncated pyramid (…) captures what happened much more accurately'] indicates the monument as a representation of historical reality. Atxaga's re-construction of memory evokes what the historian Helen Graham has referred to as the 'strong element of ritual' in the Francoist 'wartime violence' (2009: 36). Procedures included 'mass public executions' followed by the parading of corpses through the streets or the 'burning of bodies' in heaps (36). Some of the ritual was overtly religiously linked. In northern and central Spain, for example, 'executions took place on established saints or feast days' (36). In an 'uncanny' blend, 'terror' was mixed with 'fiesta — executions followed by village fêtes and dances, both of which the local population was obliged to attend' (36). It was compulsory, that is, to witness the killings and join in the parties that followed.

Graham suggests 'the violence strengthened complicity' between the military authorities and ordinary Spaniards (36). It also worked 'to exorcise the underlying fear of loss of control', which subconsciously linked 'the military rebels with their various groups of civilian supporters' (36). Crucially, 'the ritual aspect' had a self-reflexive blinding effect: it '*permitted the transgression* — by dehumanising the victim', but also by concealing 'from the perpetrators' the full import of their actions (36, italics in original). This was particularly the case among 'the smaller communities of the centre/north', where the executioners were crossing a line — 'breaking a taboo', as Graham puts it — by 'killing within their own towns and villages', the local, shared environment (36-37). The ritual ingredient also illustrates how the Francoist violence was not a fringe element, so, not about a handful of psychotic individuals emerging 'in troubled times', even though there were some such characters 'in the death squads' (37). Rather, the violence belonged to 'a set of behaviours and goals' being approved 'by considerable numbers of people' by means of which Spanish '"society" was being remade' (37).

In *El hijo del acordeonista* the idea of a cluster of people watching the re-construction of the Francoist monument recalls the reality of the public executions by re-enacting their memory in the following generations. David and his schoolfriends and teachers are not onlookers at a physical killing. Instead, they represent the initiation of an inter-generational dialogue about the memory of the civil war, inaugurated by the novel. In lieu of a blinding effect *El hijo del acordeonista* produces a self-reflexive re-viewing of the memory of the civil war. At the same time, we, as readers, watch the re-construction of memory in the form of the Obaba memorial, because we are aligned with David's point of view. Like the civilians who had to watch the public executions of Republicans in the war, we are, then, placed in the position of bystanders to historical reality.

The novel re-enacts the memory of the public executions in the form of a commemorative ceremony. Drawing on the work of Jan Assmann (1995) and Paul Connerton (1989), Anne Whitehead has pointed out that rituals 'are characterized by the bodily performance of set postures, gestures, and movements', which are very formalised, easy to predict and also repeat (2009: 133). In forming 'an automatic sequence of movements', rituals clearly identify individuals 'who are members of a particular group' (133). However, '[c]ommemorative ceremonies' are different from other forms of ritual 'because they explicitly refer to prototypical persons or events,

which are understood to have a historical or mythological existence' (133). Rites of this kind consequently contain an element of 'ritual re-enactment' that is vital to the forming of 'collective memory' (133). Thus, a certain 'image of the past' is not only transmitted and sustained by means of 'ritual performances', but also revivified from the perspective of the present and re-experienced 'through direct embodiment and gestural repetition' (133). In *El hijo del acordeonista* the ritual re-enactment of the public executions in the civil war is effected by asking readers to imagine what is beyond the space that they can see. Thus, the novel re-shapes Spain's collective cultural memory of the civil war from a contemporary perspective.

The notion of the monument as a 'pirámide truncada' ['truncated pyramid'] references yet re-works the predominant memorial of the Franco regime, the *Valle de los Caídos* ['Valley of the Fallen']. The gargantuan mausoleum — a burial tomb for Franco — was conceptualised 'as the Pharoahs had conceived the pyramids' (Preston 1995: 44). The forbidding scale of its structure has often been termed "Pharaonic" (Aguilar 2002: 74). The *Valle de los Caídos* exemplifies the regime's construction of space in Spain (Richardson 2012: 33). It was built by around '20,000 political prisoners', who had to hack out the rock for the basilica and then construct it (Romero 1999: 127). Some died in the process, while many 'were badly injured' (127). The gigantic edifice was inaugurated on the twentieth anniversary of the end of the civil war: 1 April 1959 (Aguilar 2002: 83). Today, the monument has cast off its own history, as it 'still […] silences the story of the Republican prisoners' forced to construct it (Labanyi 2009: 32). In the Transition, the site was effectively swept clean of the memory of its provenance when, in what Labanyi suggests was 'a misguided attempt at political correctness', publications about Franco were withdrawn from its souvenir bookshop (32).

Atxaga's novel does not directly return the memory of the construction of the *Valle de los Caídos* by Republican prisoners. Instead, *El hijo del acordeonista* carves a place for the memory of the war in literature, using, we might add, the building blocks of language. The novel provides a counter-memory to the *Valle de los Caídos* that links to contemporary debates about its future. In recent years, there have been growing calls for the memorial to be turned into an 'official place[…] of memory to the victims of Francoism' (Ferrán 2007: 29). Many 'organisations and institutions' have pressed for it to be adapted in some form by, for example, producing 'a permanent museum, exhibit, or learning or research center on Francoism and Francoist repression' on the site (29).

In *El hijo del acordeonista* the reconstruction of the Obaba monument shows how Republican memory was cast off as bare life at the level of language. We learn: '[e]n la pirámide truncada únicamente figuraban los nombres de dos <<caídos>>' (*El hijo*: 158) ['(o)n the truncated pyramid, only the names of the "fallen" would appear' (*Son*: 125)]. In view of the theory of bare life, the Francoist monument is a site of biopolitical power. While the monument does not have a juridical link, it exemplifies the topology of the sovereign ban. Although the monument has grown out of — is, indeed, a response to — the memory of the civil war, it indicates the names of the Republican dead are in what Agamben would term a '*relation of exception*' to the political/public memory of the war, a limit relation, whereby something, or someone, may be 'included solely through its [or their] exclusion' (1998: 18, italics in original). Indeed, the reconstruction of public memory — the monument is renewing an existing plaque — symbolises the normalisation of the '*relation of exception*' in Obaba, 1964 (18, italics in original). Following Agamben's theory, the Francoist monument is, then, a disguised version of the concentration camp: in hidden form, the monument represents the existence, or perhaps we should say persistence, of the structure of the camp in Spain, 1964.

The reconstruction of the Obaba monument links to the Franco regime's 1964 national commemoration of the end of the war, the so-called "Veinticinco años de Paz" ["Twenty-five years of Peace"]. The commemoration marked a watershed in the official memory of the civil war (Aguilar 2002: 110). For several years after the war, the Franco regime used 'an origin-based legitimacy' by referring to the civil war 'in official proclamations' and contending that 'the regime's existence' was 'the logical outcome of its victory in what it called the "crusade" against the "anti-Spain" of the Second Republic' (Ferrán 2007: 35). But by 1964 the regime wanted to promulgate a discourse of 'performance-based legitimacy' (35). Thus, it sought 'to downplay the memory of the war' that it had previously emphasized and highlight 'the economic development […] it was starting to generate' (35). Initially, the commemoration was conceptualised as 'a "National Exhibition" […] to be staged in 1961 under the slogan "25 Years of Spanish Life (1936-1961)"' (Aguilar 2002: 113). But the time frame was then brought forward to the end of the war — 1939-64 — and the idea of an exhibition greatly expanded into a series of celebrations strung across the year (113-14). The elision of the time of the civil war effectively started a process by which means the war became less and less prominent 'in the regime's official discourse' (Ferrán 2007: 35).

The commemoration was a nationwide campaign that sought to be 'exhaustive' (Aguilar 2002: 112). Spain was papered with posters. Every city, town and village was decked out 'for the celebration of their own fiestas' (116). There was an abundance of 'official publications' and countless competitions: 'poetry, novels, cinema, journalism, radio and television' (116). Eight episodes of the No-Do film magazine programme 'Imágenes' ['Images'] were dedicated to the commemoration including 'España y el Mundo (XXV Años de Paz)' ['Spain and the World (XXV Years of Peace)'] and 'Cultura Española' ['Spanish Culture'] (58 and n. 38, p. 58).[170]

The commemoration's primary message was that the increase in economic prosperity and 'the achievements of social policy' were the direct product of 'the existing political stability and social peace' (118). Although the regime was set on emphasizing its performance in lieu of its origins, those same origins 'would continue to emerge during the commemoration' (118-19). The campaign was loaded with the memory of the war. In lieu of "peace"' many places chose to celebrate 'the victory of the Nationalists and the liberation of their towns' (124). No-Do broadcast reports about 'the meetings of veterans' taking place 'to celebrate the "liberation"'; the monuments being put up to 'the heroes of the war' and the homage being paid 'to the martyrs […] and the fallen' (58). The accounts promulgated the earlier rhetoric of the regime: references to 'peace' were couched in terms of 'the crusade and victory, never […] civil war' (58).

At a national level, the commemoration appeared to address and 'symbolically integrate all Spaniards, the victors and the defeated' by placing them under the same banner as it were (119). In the event, however, the commemoration was political life that reinforced Republican memory as bare life. Aguilar observes, '[t]he use of the term "liberation"' demonstrates 'the continued estrangement' of those who had fought to defend the Second Republic, 'who were symbolically deprived of their Spanish identity' (124). Although the commemoration was nationwide, there was a marked disparity between the tone of the national celebrations and those at a local level (125). Some locally organised events diverged entirely from the leitmotif of peace and the emphasis

[170] The acronym No-Do was the name by which the 'official film company' of the Franco regime 'Noticiarios y Documentales Cinematográficos [News and Cinematic Documentaries]' was known (Ellwood 1995: 201). Through No-Do, the regime controlled all 'news and information presented […] [as] moving pictures', which tightened still further the grip 'it already had, through censorship and the state press and radio networks, on public knowledge and perceptions of national and international reality' (201).

on economic advancement (125). Instead, they focused on the theme of victory, trumpeting a 'direct message of warlike exaltation' alongside a 'black-and-white reading of the war' (125). A commemorative booklet from the town of Segura de León linked the peace almost entirely to the war (n. 139, p. 125). Ninety-five per cent of the pamphlet pedalled the rhetoric of 'origin-based legitimacy' (n. 139, p. 125). Rather than 'all the victims of the war', the text referred solely to 'our fallen' (n. 139, p. 125). The Republican defeated were not mentioned at all (n. 139, p. 125).

The 1964 commemoration is directly referenced in Atxaga's novel. David tells his daughters: 'Liz, Sara: yo no sabía nada sobre la guerra de nuestros padres, *about the Spanish Civil War* […] y en 1964 […] apenas habían transcurrido veinticinco años — <<Veinticinco años de Paz>>, decía la propaganda — desde el final de la contienda' (*El hijo*: 83, italics in original) ['Liz, Sara: I didn't know anything about our parents' war, the Spanish civil war (…) and in 1964 (…) it was only twenty-five years — "Twenty-five years of Peace" according to the propaganda — since the end of the conflict' (*Son*: 62)].[171] David's lack of knowledge of the war reflects historical reality. As highlighted in the Introduction, the Franco era was marked by an inter-generational silence around the memory of the civil war. David's notion of the conflict as 'la guerra de nuestros padres' ['our parents' war'] reflects the inter-generational divide in the 1950s and early 1960s. But it also has a contemporary reflection. As set out in the Introduction, when Spain entered democracy the inter-generational silence did not end. Rather, the disremembrance of the recent past meant that as in the time of Franco, in the Transition memories of the war were not passed on. The description 'la guerra de nuestros padres' ['our parents' war'] illustrates, then, the trans-generational effects of the political and psychic rupture with the memory of the civil war and Francoist past during the Spanish Transition.

However, David's memoir explicitly represents the trans-generational transmission of the memories of the civil war in the private sphere. *El hijo del acordeonista* thus not only reflects, but also addresses the lack of knowledge of the memory of the war and Francoist past amongst contemporary generations. The novel presents itself as a counter-memorial to the Franco regime's 1964 national commemoration entitled "Veinticinco años de Paz". David first learns about the Obaba executions '[u]n día de julio, en aquel *año de paz* de 1964' (*El hijo*: 83, italics in

[171] I have here modified the English translation which reads 'Liz, Sara: I didn't know anything about that war, the Spanish civil war' (*Son*: 62).

original) ['(o)ne day in July, in that "year of peace", 1964' (*Son*: 62)]. *El hijo del acordeonista* counters the 1964 commemoration by contrasting the memory of the civil war with that of the Second World War. When David and Martín, Berlino's son, visit Adrián who is convalescing at home we read: 'Coincidió que en la televisión ponían una película sobre la Segunda Guerra Mundial' (*El hijo*: 84) ['It just so happened a film about the Second World War was being shown on TV' (*Son*: 62)]. After three other schoolfriends arrive — Joseba, Susana and Victoria — the film sparks an argument about the memory of the civil war. When Victoria and Susana state their loathing of war it is attributed to their fathers being on the losing side. But while Susana, 'la hija del medico de Obaba' (*El hijo*: 84) ['the daughter of the doctor in Obaba' (*Son*: 63)], is linked to the Republican defeated, Victoria is 'hija de un ingeniero alemán empleado en una fábrica de Obaba' (*El hijo*: 84) ['the daughter of a German engineer employed by a factory in Obaba' (*Son*: 62)]. The novel highlights that whereas the fascists were on the losing side in the Second World War, the position was reversed in Spain. *El hijo del acordeonista* thus produces a contemporary post-war consciousness about the memory of the civil war and Francoist past that links to pan-European memory debates.

Around ten days after David learns about the local shootings in Obaba from his schoolfriends, his uncle Juan tells him the story of Don Pedro. David's re-writing of this story as 'El primer americano de Obaba' ['Obaba's first American'] is linked to the 1964 commemoration. When he wants to retreat to Iruain to write we learn, 'Me valí para ello de una mentira. Le dije a mi madre que se había convocado un concurso de cuentos para conmemorar <<los veinticinco años de paz en España>> y que pensaba presentarme' (*El hijo*: 97) ['In order to do this, I resorted to a lie. I told my mother that there was a short story competition commemorating "twenty-five years of peace in Spain" and that I was thinking of entering' (*Son*: 74)].

Through the use of interjections like 'Liz, Sara:' (*El hijo*: 83 [*Son*: 62]) Atxaga's novel constantly reminds us that David's memoir is being written in the present. As in the conversation between Herbal and Maria da Visitação in *El lápiz del carpintero*, the diegesis self-consciously shuttles between then and now. In *El hijo del acordeonista* the oscillation between the past and the present is often spatially framed. David refers, for example, to 'desde este rancho de Stoneham' (*El hijo*: 100) ['sitting here in Stoneham Ranch' (*Son*: 76)]. When he looks at a photo he says the one he has in his hand, 'es la que más me interesa, o, más bien, la que mejor encaja en este relato que estoy escribiendo en Stoneham' (*El hijo*: 140) ['is the one that most interests me, or, rather,

that best fits this story I'm writing in Stoneham' (*Son*: 109)]. The idea of the writer having to imagine the memory of the civil war and Francoist past has a self-reflexive aspect. In drawing our attention to the mode of its construction the novel highlights that David is imagining what is beyond the space he can see. *El hijo del acordeonista* thus echoes historical reality. As indicated in the Introduction, like all of the authors of the novels in the thesis Bernardo Atxaga did not experience the civil war directly. Rather, Atxaga, who was born in 1951, grew up under Francoism a generation later.

El hijo del acordeonista is not only about Republican memories but also legacies linked to the Francoist side. David's father Ángel's involvement in the war is symbolised by the image of a gorilla. When Teresa gives David the notebook she has found packed away in the hotel attic with the list of people who were shot in the civil war we learn:

> Era como los cuadernos que se usaban en la escuela, de color anaranjado y con el dibujo de un gorila en la cubierta. En la parte inferior, dentro de una orla, ponía <<Cuaderno para uso de>>, y debajo, un nombre: <<Ángel>>. (*El hijo*: 156)

> [It was like the notebooks people used to use at school, orange and with a picture of a gorilla on the front. At the bottom of the cover, inside a border were the words: 'This notebook belongs to' and underneath, a name: 'Ángel'. (*Son*: 123)]

In view of the theory of bare life, Ángel's imbrication with 'el dibujo de un gorila' ['a picture of a gorilla'] depicts the memory of the civil war as an inhuman past. Instead of the action of a person, the writing of the list of Republican names — their identification for execution — is portrayed as that of a large and powerful anthropoid ape. The simian image resonates with Foucault's link between biopolitics and bestial behaviour (1981: 143): it suggests Francoism as a modernity that is an evolutionary regression. Francoism is, in other words, depicted as a bestial form of life that has failed to achieve humanity, a sovereignty that has behaved like a beast.

Later, David attempts to dialogue with the image of the gorilla. We learn, 'La mirada decía: <<¿Qué piensas de todo esto, David? ¿Fue tu padre un asesino?>>. El gorila parecía dispuesto a seguir repitiendo la pregunta durante cien años' (*El hijo*: 166)

['That look was saying: "What do you make of all this, David? Was your father a murderer?" The gorilla seemed prepared to continue repeating those questions for a hundred years' (*Son*: 131)]. The focus on the gaze of the gorilla is juxtaposed with its lack of language. David tells us: 'La mirada del gorila era el de siempre. La de quien pregunta y aguarda la respuesta. Pero era imposible adivinar que preguntaba exactamente' (*El hijo*: 176) ['The look in the gorilla's eyes was just the same, the look of someone asking a question and waiting for an answer. But it was impossible to know what the question was' (*Son*: 140)].

The idea of '(l)a mirada del gorila' ['(t)he look in the gorilla's eyes'] as that 'de quien pregunta y aguarda la respuesta' ['of someone asking a question and waiting for an answer'] suggests the past is trying to talk to the present. But David's remark, 'era imposible adivinar que preguntaba exactamente' ['it was impossible to know what the question was'], highlights the gorilla's lack of language. The text tells us the gorilla is not part of the *polis*. It cannot articulate the past.

In the present-day in Stoneham Ranch the gorilla's gaze remains. David recounts:

> El cuaderno que me dio Teresa en el camarote el hotel Alaska está ahora sobre mi mesa de trabajo, apoyado en un pequeña pila de cuadernos y fotografías. Desde su cubierta naranja, el gorila clava sus ojos en mí y me sigue con la mirada cuando me inclino en la silla hacia un lado u otro. Pero su actitud no me afecta. Ya no es como […] hace ya veinte años o más. Sé que el cuaderno tiene sus días contados, que pronto lo tiraré a la basura para que el camión se lo lleve al vertedero de Three Rivers o de Visalia. Me río, siento una gran alegría al imaginar sus hojas manchadas con trozos de pizza y restos de salsa, destrozadas por los dientes de una máquina, consumidas por el fuego. (*El hijo*: 165)
>
> [The notebook Teresa gave me in the attic room in the Hotel Alaska is now on my desk, resting on a small pile of other notebooks and photographs. The gorilla looks out at me from the orange cover and follows me with his gaze when I lean to one side or the other in my chair. This doesn't bother me though. It's not like (…) twenty or more years ago. I know the notebook's days are numbered, that soon I'll throw it in the trash so that the truck can take it to the dump in Three Rivers or Visalia. I laugh and feel real joy to imagine its pages, stained with bits

of pizza and sauce, being devoured by the teeth of a machine, consumed by fire. (*Son*: 130)]

The description of the gorilla following David with his gaze depicts it as an inescapable presence. The image suggests the past is surveying the present, always keeping it in view. The idea of the pages of the notebook 'destrozadas por los dientes de una máquina, consumidas por el fuego' ['being devoured by the teeth of a machine, consumed by fire'] implies they are being eaten by modernity. Their mechanical disposal — the destruction of their memory — is suggested as an act of violence. In the light of the theory of bare life, the anticipated binning of the notebook symbolises the discarding of the memory of the civil war by political/public life in the Spanish Transition. The idea of the notebook being thrown away is redolent of what Greil Marcus has called "the dustbin of history" (1995). As discussed in the previous chapter on Rivas's *El lápiz del carpintero* Marcus argues that in late capitalism the much-used phrase, "It's history", has come to be understood as the exact opposite of what it actually says (22). Rather than a recognition of history, "It's history" is now used to suggest that 'there is no such thing as history, a past of burden and legacy' (22). David's imagined scrapping of the notebook symbolises historical reality. During the last decade of the Franco regime, 1965-75, and the first of the Transition, 1975-85, '[m]illions of documents' about the Francoist repression during and after the civil war were literally thrown away or pulped (Preston 2012: xvi). These included 'the archives of the Franco regime's single party, the fascist Falange, of provincial police headquarters, of prisons and of the main Francoist local authority, the Civil Governors' (xvi). The documents were taken away in '[c]onvoys of trucks' (xvi). Stacks of records were also apparently destroyed in error 'when some town councils sold their archives by the ton as waste paper for recycling' (xvi).[172]

From bare life to political life

In Atxaga's novel David's discovery of his father's involvement in the local executions in the civil war is represented as a trauma that produces melancholia.[173] When the Obaba monument is being re-built David is haunted by the list of names and

[172] See Espinosa Maestre 2000: 13-23.
[173] See also Aguado 2009: 94.

Ángel's role in the Republican shootings. We read: 'La causa de mi preocupación […] [era] el cuaderno del gorila que me había dado a conocer Teresa. No podía pensar en otra cosa' (*El hijo*: 157) ['The cause of my anxiety was the notebook with the gorilla on the cover that Teresa had shown me. I could think of nothing else' (*Son*: 124)]. Later, we learn: 'La lista me acompañaba a todas partes' (*El hijo*: 166) ['The list went with me everywhere' (*Son*: 131)]. The idea of David being haunted by the gorilla notebook with the list of names illustrates the notion of the repressed memories of the civil war and Francoist past inhabiting the collective imaginary during the Spanish Transition as in the theory of Teresa Vilarós. The present is being persecuted by the past.

But the reconstruction of the monument is juxtaposed with the list of names from the gorilla notebook. The list marks a schism in the individual and collective memories of the civil war. When David says to his friends that the monument should include 'los nombres de las personas que fueron fusiladas en Obaba' (*El hijo*: 158) ['the names of the people who were shot in Obaba' (*Son*: 125)] he does not speak of them aloud. Instead, we learn:

> Apenas acabé la frase, vi la lista del cuaderno como si la tuviera delante de los ojos: *Humberto, Goena el viejo, Goena el joven, Eusebio, Otero, Portaburu, <<los maestros>>, <<el americano>>*'. (*El hijo*: 158)

> [As soon as I spoke these words, I saw the list in the notebook as if it were there before my eyes: *Humberto, Goena Senior, Goena Junior, Eusebio, Otero, Portaburu, 'the teachers', 'the American'*. (*Son*: 125)]

In the light of the theory of bare life, the private apparition illuminates the list of names as what Agamben would term 'the hidden foundation' of the public memory of the civil war in Obaba, 1964 (9). The text tells us it is a memorial 'state of exception' (9). In *El hijo del acordeonista* the ghost occurs, then, at the level of narrative. Although the names have been unrecognised in public/political life they can clearly be privately seen. The unspoken mental image illustrates historical reality. As highlighted in the Introduction, there was a deep 'schism between public and private memory in post-civil war Spain' (Graham 2004: 321). Although the Republican dead are biologically deceased, they are signalled as *homines sacri*. The identities of the locally executed that are excluded from the *polis* lie concealed within the *oikos*. But the inclusive exclusion

of the names on the Francoist monument diverges from Agamben's idea of bare life as an almost inescapable human condition, which might affect everybody alike. Rather, the names that are in a 'non-place' on the monument illustrate how sovereignty operates in a differential way by eroding the humanity of particular groups or societal strands (Butler 2006: 68).

The apparition of the list suggests Obaba is shot through with the repressed memories of the civil war and Francoist past. As in Vilarós's theory of the Spanish Transition the names represent the idea of an apparently 'línea recta de la historia' ['straight line of history'] being littered with 'extrañas fisuras y agujeros narrativos' ['strange fissures and narrative holes'] (1998: 7). Although the names relate to a temporally distant past they are drawn as very close. The proximity of the image — David sees the list, 'como si la tuviera delante de los ojos' ['as if it were there before my eyes'] — foregrounds it as a very present memory. The idea of the names appearing just in front of David reflects the novel's temporal oscillation between 1964 and 1999. Atxaga's novel draws a parallel between the two dates. *El hijo del acordeonista* reflects how Republican memories — and thus the names of the Republican dead — were inclusively excluded in the collective memory of the civil war at both of these times. Just as Republican memories were not part of the "Veinticinco años de Paz" commemoration in 1964, in 1999 they remained unrecognised because of the public disremembrance of the memory of the civil war and Francoist past in the Transition.

Shortly after, the apparition is seen a second time. David observes:

> La lista de los fusilados en Obaba volvió en mi mente: *Humberto, Goena el viejo, Goena el joven, Eusebio, Otero, Portaburu, <<los maestros>>, <<el americano>>*. Aunque me empeñara en olvidar, guardando el cuaderno del gorila entre los papeles viejos de un cajón o enfrascándome en mis estudios, sentía aquellos nombres rozando la superficie de mis pensamientos, a punto de aflorar. Habían quedado grabados en mi memoria con la misma precisión que los de José Iturrino y Jesús María Gabirondo en el mármol del nuevo monumento. (*El hijo*: 160)

> [The list of those who'd been shot in Obaba reappeared in my mind: *Humberto, Goena Senior, Goena Junior, Eusebio, Otero, Portaburu, 'the teachers', 'the American'*. Although I was doing my best to forget — stuffing that notebook

> back in amongst other old papers in a box or immersing myself in my studies — I felt as if those names were always just beneath the surface of my thoughts, ready to rise to the top. They had remained engraved on my memory as precisely as the names of José Iturrino and Jesús María Gabirondo on the marble of the new monument. (*Son*: 126)][174]

The reappearance of the names simulates the dialectic of remembering and forgetting, but ultimately portrays them as an irrepressible memory. David's description of their location — 'rozando la superficie de mis pensamientos, a punto de aflorar' ['just beneath the surface of my thoughts, ready to rise to the top'] — suggests they are primed to enter his personal/private consciousness. But the re-emergence of the list also pertains to the public sphere. By means of the text, the names are permeating public historical consciousness. Following the theory of bare life, the names that were cast off as bare life are entering political life. What Agamben would call 'the hidden foundation' of the Francoist state is, then, coming into view (1998: 9).

The writing of the names illustrates the novel as political life. The names that have a 'non-place' on the Francoist monument — bare life is in an always already negated political position — are being literally put into the text. The novel thus highlights the fluctuation between bare life and political life: 'the hidden foundation' is not set in stone but 'continually operative in the civil state' by dint of 'the sovereign decision' (Agamben 1998: 109). The decision is here realised in language, which acts effectively as the law (21). The surfacing of the names signals them as publicly/politically alive. No longer dead in public life, the names have been revivified by the novel. *El hijo del acordeonista* recognises, then, the physical deaths of the local Republican dead. By acknowledging their names the novel restores their humanity. Moreover, in rendering them part of the public memory of the civil war it gives them a measure of justice.[175]

Instead of a sanitised version of history like the Francoist monument, Atxaga's novel is a text of mourning that symbolically grieves the Republican deaths (Swift

[174] The English translation has here erased the reference to the image of the gorilla: 'el cuaderno del gorila', which literally translates as 'the gorilla notebook', has become 'that notebook'.
[175] Ryan points out that the naming of the Republicans 'has the effect of de-normalizing Francoist discourse, while simultaneously humanizing the Republicans, who are presented as the innocent victims of unwarranted suffering. The human consequences of a remote history are illustrated and made meaningful to David by the instantiation of absence' (2014: 169).

2009: 145). *El hijo del acordeonista* represents, then, a counter-memorial to the Francoist reading of history, an oppositional point of view. The novel opposes Franco's distorted historical memory of the civil war by literary means. Instead of being built in the image of God, the memory of the war has here been constructed in literature.

Atxaga's return of Republican memories puts them into the context of a shared inheritance for contemporary Spaniards. The novel does not seek to efface the extant Francoist names or desecrate their memory. Rather, the portrayal of the Republican dead as equivalent inscriptions — David says they have 'quedado grabados en mi memoria con la misma precisión que los de José Iturrino y Jesús María Gabirondo en el mármol del nuevo monumento' ['remained engraved on my memory as precisely as the names of José Iturrino and Jesús María Gabirondo on the marble of the new monument'] — suggests a shared and communal past.[176] But whereas the Francoist memorial is devoted to the conflict's military aspect, the Republican names are not soldiers who fought in the war. Rather, they identify civilians killed for supporting, or merely believed to be supporting, the Second Republic. Juan tells David they were all 'maestros […] [y] campesinos' (*El hijo*: 212) ['teachers (…) farmers and shepherds' (*Son*: 170)].

It is of course the writer, Bernardo Atxaga, who gives the Republican dead back their humanity. But the novel also requires the reader to transform bare life into political life through the construction of a textual memorial. The writing of the names signals the novel as a work of memory that is being constructed in front of our eyes. Instead of being re-made invisible in the public memory of the civil war — the monument is renewing an existing plaque — the names are being seen as we read. The reconstruction of the Francoist monument in textual form puts forth an alternative memorialisation of the civil war, another cultural memory. In view of the theory of bare life, *El hijo del acordeonista* stands, then, for the excavation of the 'hidden foundation' of Obaba, 1964 (Agamben 1998: 9). The novel is unearthing the Republican past.

The 'hidden foundation' is an imagined, fictional memory that represents recent historical reality. Atxaga's novel both symbolises and forms part of the movement of private memories of the civil war and Franco era into the public sphere since around

[176] As Alfredo J. Sosa-Velasco has pointed out, Atxaga's novel seeks 'to communicate and transmit at a moment in which official history tries to erase any reminiscence of the past'; however, 'it is not so much about having been part of one faction or another — with Franco or against Francoism — but about who we are as products of such a circumstance' (2009: 236).

1998. The reader's involvement in building the memorial means that they have to take part in the memory of the civil war and Francoist past. The novel therefore represents a bottom-up building of memory. In this sense, *El hijo del acordeonista* is comparable to the movement for the recovery of memory in Spanish society by digging up mass Republican graves. The novel both reminds us of that work of mourning and provides another way for Spaniards to engage with their pasts. *El hijo del acordeonista* is, then, political life. The idea of a community of readers reconstructing the memory of the civil war and Francoist past signals Atxaga's novel as a deeply political work.

The reading of David's story about Don Pedro, 'El primer americano de Obaba' ['Obaba's first American'], to friends from the local book club also represents the emergence of the memory of the civil war from the private to the public sphere (*El hijo*: 468-71 [*Son*: 384-87]). The collective ritual of reading symbolises the construction of a collective cultural memory of the civil war and Francoist past.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have shown how *El hijo del acordeonista* returns the historical reality of the public executions of Republicans in the civil war in the form of a textual memorial. I have argued that the novel's re-construction of cultural memory stands as a counter-memorial to the *Valle de los Caídos* and the Franco regime's nationwide commemoration of the end of the war in 1964, the so-called "Veinticinco años de Paz". *El hijo del acordeonista* symbolises the trans-generational transmission of memory through literature. By requiring the reader to participate in a textual building of memory I have highlighted how the novel exhorts us to engage with the memory of the civil war and Francoist past. I have traced how the book is a work of mourning that simulates the movement of bare life to political life. However, I have emphasized that *El hijo del acordeonista* does not only return Republican memories of the civil war, but also focuses on legacies linked to the Francoist side. Thus, I have shown, the novel represents the idea of a shared and communal past for contemporary generations of Spaniards. *El hijo del acordeonista* inaugurates an inter-generational discussion about the memory of the civil war for both current and future debate.

Conclusion

In this thesis I have argued that these four contemporary novels — *La sombra del viento* [*The Shadow of the Wind*] (2001) by Carlos Ruiz Zafón, *Soldados de Salamina* [*Soldiers of Salamis*] (2001) by Javier Cercas, *El lápiz del carpintero* [*The Carpenter's Pencil*] (1998) by Manuel Rivas and *El hijo del acordeonista* [*The Accordionist's Son*] (2003) by Bernardo Atxaga — address the legacy of the memory of the civil war brought about by the disremembrance of history during the Spanish Transition.

As we saw in the Introduction, the very nature of the Transition — which was not only about changing Spain's system of governance, but also a general shift across a range of interrelated social and cultural attitudes and processes — means it does not have clear-cut temporal parameters. The beginning and end of the Transition is, in other words, a moot point. But the dates of the novels — between 1998 and 2003 — mean they were all published within ten years of what Teresa Vilarós has conceptualised as the end of the Transition: 1993, when Spain signed the Maastricht treaty in order fully to join the new European framework (Vilarós 1998: 1). The thesis has shown that these novels are vital components of the construction of a collective cultural memory of the civil war and Franco era. I have drawn attention to the fact that each novel represents and forms part of the reappearance of private memories of the war and post-war period in the public realm during the great resurgence of memory in Spain — the so-called "memory boom" — that began around 1998 and lasted for some 15 years or more. In particular, I have sought to illuminate the novels' focus on the trans-generational transmission of memories.

As we have seen, the thesis has drawn on the concept of the memory of the civil war as a haunting past produced by the Transition's political and psychic rupture with recent history. Through theorised readings of the novels, the thesis has revealed many different aspects of the re-emergence of memory: the reappearance of the past in public consciousness, the production of a new historical narrative, the reshaping of Spain's collective memory about the civil war and Franco era, and its imbrication in European politics of memory by reflecting the pan-European revision of collective memories since the end of the Cold War in 1989. Especially, the thesis has emphasized how the novels both represent and produce a space for mourning by inserting Republican losses

into the public sphere. As we have seen, this space is a discursive space: the novels enable mourning by producing knowledge of the memories of the war and thereby promoting discussion.

One of the key findings of the thesis is that these four novels depict the memory of the civil war and the Franco era as a haunting past for contemporary generations. In *La sombra del viento* I argued that the emergence of the apparently absent memory of the novelist Julián Carax in the life of the young Daniel Sempere signals the Spanish past as what Abraham and Torok would term a trans-generational "phantom" that has been passed from one generation to the next. In *Soldados de Salamina* the narrator is haunted by the story of Rafael Sánchez Mazas encountering an unknown Republican soldier at the end of the civil war, and thus escaping execution. In *El lápiz del carpintero* the memory of the civil war is shown as a haunting past by the return of the ghost of the Republican painter executed by Herbal the prison guard and Herbal's 'dolor fantasma' ["phantom pain"]. In *El hijo del acordeonista* we saw how the idea of haunting takes place at the level of language: David Imaz is haunted by the list of names in his father Ángel's notebook from the civil war and thus Ángel's role in the local executions of Republicans.

Along with haunting, the affiliated themes of melancholia and mourning have been key aspects of the thesis. The thesis argued that in *La sombra del viento* the representation of Barcelona as wounded symbolises the traumatic memory of the civil war and post-war era in successive generations. But the eventual emergence of Julián's memory reflects the novel as a work of mourning. In *Soldados de Salamina* we encountered the notion of melancholia as culturally prohibited, inexpressible mourning. I showed how the narrator's subjective account of the memory of the civil war illustrates Teresa Vilarós's diagnosis of the Transition's culture of disremembrance as a diseased body with unconscious withdrawal symptoms. But we found the novel also performs a public act of mourning for the memories of the civil war and Francoist past. Through the narrator's inter-generational dialogue with Miralles the Republican veteran, in which Miralles articulates the loss of the Republicans who fought with him in the civil war — not only by recounting his story but also by naming his comrades-in-arms — I argued that *Soldados de Salamina* symbolises a movement of melancholia into mourning which represents Spain's resurgence of memory from around 1998.

The twin themes of mourning and melancholia recurred in Rivas's *El lápiz del carpintero*. Drawing on Derrida's theory of hauntology, I showed how the return of the

spectre of the Republican painter after his execution signals the existence of melancholia in post-war Spain: both in the Franco era and the Transition. At the same time, Herbal's dialogue with the ghost represents the work of mourning for the civil war past. We encountered further acts of mourning in *El hijo del acordeonista* by Bernardo Atxaga. The thesis argued that through its reconstruction of the public executions of the Republicans in the civil war the novel represents a collective ritual of mourning that reminds us of the excavations of mass graves, which have been a key feature of Spain's resurgence of memory. We saw how the novel both represents and produces a public space for mourning by reproducing the names of the Republican dead in the form of a textual inscription. *El hijo del acordeonista* thus creates an alternative memorialisation of the civil war that involves the reader in the work of mourning.

Although the thesis regards the novels as texts of mourning, we have found they do not culminate in closure of the memory of the civil war and Francoist past. Rather, these novels suggest it remains a matter of open debate. In *El lápiz del carpintero* the lack of closure is symbolised by the concept of 'dolor fantasma', which shows there has been no "end of history" once the story has been told. *La sombra del viento*, *Soldados de Salamina* and *El hijo del acordeonista* all suggest a lack of closure through their linear-circular narratives that both move in a forward direction and return to the beginning. The end of *La sombra del viento* returns to the opening scene a generation later, when an unnamed Daniel first takes his son, Julián, to the Cementerio de los Libros Olvidados ["Cemetery of Forgotten Books"] as when Daniel was taken there by his father. In *Soldados de Salamina* the lack of closure is reflected by the fact that the novel is going to be written again and though the text has entered mourning it has a note of melancholy. At the end of *El hijo del acordeonista* David Imaz is about to go into hospital, which takes us back to our knowledge of his death that had occurred at the beginning.

Although the novels are fictional works of memory the thesis has shown that they represent and return historical reality and therefore knowledge of the civil war and Francoist past. One of the main findings of the thesis is that these novels draw attention to the role of the imagination in Spain's confrontation with its history. As indicated in the Introduction, this narrative approach echoes the reality of their authors' experience: Carlos Ruiz Zafón, Javier Cercas, Manuel Rivas and Bernardo Atxaga were not alive at the time of the civil war, but were born and grew up under Francoism in the 1950s and early 1960s. These authors belong, then, to the generation(s) that came after the war.

As we have seen, each of these novels addresses the long inter-generational silence that existed around the memory of the civil war and Francoist past. We might recall from the Introduction that this silence initially set in under Francoism and was then prolonged into the Transition by the disremembrance of recent history, embodied by the notion of the "pacto del olvido". A key reason for the resurgent interest in memory amongst Spaniards has been the fact that those generations who actually experienced the civil war and early post-war era are now dying out. The recuperation of memories has been partly activated by what has been termed the "generación de los nietos de los vencidos" ["generation of the grandchildren of the vanquished"] (Rojo 2004: 44, cited in Ferrán 2007: 32). As emphasized in the Introduction, as "los nietos de los vencidos" have come of age they have sought to look at the events of the war and the Franco dictatorship from a different angle by considering them anew. The members of this generation have wanted, then, to engage with their familial histories, which were unspoken throughout the Franco era and also the Transition.

The thesis has shown how these four novels reflect this generation's desire to recuperate the memories of the civil war and Francoist past. In *La sombra del viento* the young Daniel Sempere's search for the identity of the novelist Julián Carax is reminiscent of the work of the "generación de los nietos de los vencidos". In *Soldados de Salamina* the narrator, who is in his mid-forties, initially represents the lack of knowledge about the civil war both in the generation that grew up after the war and contemporary generations. The narrator is not identified with the Republican legacy. But his need to find Miralles the Republican veteran who might have been the anonymous soldier who encountered the Falangist Rafael Sánchez Mazas towards the end of the war exemplifies the idea of the "generación de los nietos de los vencidos"' imperative engagement with history.

In *El lápiz del carpintero* the curiosity about the memory of the civil war is channelled through the conversation between the young prostitute Maria da Visitação and Herbal the former prison guard. Herbal is not a filial relation of Maria, but their dialogue represents the trans-generational transmission of memories, while Maria's social and cultural alterity implicitly affiliates her to the Republican legacy. In *El hijo del acordeonista* the teenage David Imaz learns about the memories of the civil war from his schoolfriends and his uncle Juan. David's family is linked to the Republican legacy as well as that of the Francoist side. The thesis argued that the reader's

involvement in building a textual memorial both represents the recent engagement with history amongst Spain's contemporary generations and also activates it as such.

The thesis has demonstrated that these four novels both reveal and address the lack of knowledge about the memory of the civil war amongst contemporary generations of Spaniards by producing knowledge about that memory. *La sombra del viento*, *Soldados de Salamina*, *El lápiz del carpintero* and *El hijo del acordeonista* represent and create a discursive, inter-generational space in the form of a cultural space that is also a social and political space. The novels are thus about linking the past, the present and the future. As we have noted, the authors of these novels did not experience the civil war directly. Rather, Carlos Ruiz Zafón, Javier Cercas, Manuel Rivas and Bernardo Atxaga, who were born in the 1950s and 1960s, grew up under Francoism in the generations after. In a sense, these authors are, then, predecessors of the so-called "generación de los nietos de los vencidos". Importantly, however, the novels show that the recovery of knowledge of Spain's recent history is not limited to the descendants of the defeated but relates to all the Spanish people. Irrespective of familial legacies the civil war and Francoist past is, then, a collective and shared memory for contemporary generations of Spaniards.

As set out in the Introduction, in the sense that the generations who experienced the civil war and the early post-war era are now reaching the end of their lives, the thesis has reflected the relation between the memory of the Spanish Civil War and Holocaust memory. As with the event of the Holocaust, our access to direct memories of the civil war will soon have gone forever. But as we have seen these novels are also redolent of cultural memories about the Holocaust. In *La sombra del viento* I suggested the trans-generational transmission of the memory of Julián Carax through numerous stories has echoes of Anne Michaels' Holocaust memory novel *Fugitive Pieces*. In *El lápiz del carpintero* the thesis argued that the 'arqueología helada de convoyes varados y cobertizos que parecían panteones de esqueletos ferroviarios' (*El lápiz*: 143) ['frozen archaeology of stranded trains and sheds that resembled pantheons of railway skeletons' (*Pencil*: 119)] recalls Holocaust imagery. In *El hijo del acordeonista* the thesis drew on Agamben's theory of bare life to highlight how the representation of the public executions of the Republicans marks the erosion of humanity in the civil war.

The thesis has reflected the fact that the memory of the civil war haunted the collective imaginary during the Spanish Transition. Anne Whitehead has pointed out that 'the representation of war' and its aftermath became a central focus of

contemporary fiction in the latter part of the twentieth century, with, in particular, 'the Second World War […] and especially the Holocaust […] dominat[ing] and overwhelm[ing] the contemporary imagination' (2004: 83).[177] Whitehead cites Nicola King's observation that '[t]he Holocaust remains a contemporary concern […] because the event itself has come to represent a rupture in historical continuity, problematising the relationship between past and present' (1999: 94, cited in Whitehead 2004: 83). Following Vilarós's reading of the Transition as a rupture in the historical syntax, the memory of the Spanish Civil War is therefore also like Holocaust memory.

One of the main conclusions of the thesis is that *La sombra del viento*, *Soldados de Salamina*, *El lápiz del carpintero* and *El hijo del acordeonista* make a crucial contribution to the construction of a collective cultural memory of the civil war by representing it as such. In Ruiz Zafón's novel Daniel Sempere inherits the trace of the apparently absent memory of the novelist, Julián Carax, in the form of a book. The thesis argued that the emergence of Julián's memory through multiple stories told by various different people represents the construction of a collective cultural memory of the civil war and post-war past. In *Soldados de Salamina* the narrator's inter-generational dialogue with the Republican veteran Miralles, in which Miralles remembers the forgotten young men who died fighting alongside him, represents the reconfiguration of the collective memory of the civil war. In *El lápiz del carpintero* the spectre of the painter executed by Herbal the prison guard illustrates the disappearance of the Republican past in Spain's collective memory but also its return. In *El hijo del acordeonista* the Republican past that was rendered invisible in Spain's collective memory for more than sixty years is reconstructed as a textual memorial.

The thesis has argued that each of these novels represents the reappearance of private memories of the civil war and Francoist past in the public sphere during the resurgence of memory in Spain from around 1998. In *La sombra del viento* the repeated accounts of the memory of Julián Carax by various different people who had known him in Barcelona signal the emergence of private memories of the civil war and post-war era in the public realm. In *Soldados de Salamina* I argued that the narrator's initial lack of memory of the civil war testifies to the political and psychic rupture with the recent past on which the Transition was based. The narrator's contemporary account of one of the founders of Spanish fascism, Rafael Sánchez Mazas, shows the "pacto del

[177] Whitehead makes her observation in a broad European and American context rather than a Spanish one as such.

olvido" to have percolated into the private sphere and become accepted within it. That is to say, the narrator has absorbed the public narrative about the memory of the civil war and Francoist past, soaked it up like a sponge. However, through the narrator's inter-generational encounter with the Republican veteran Miralles the novel symbolises the reconfiguration of Spain's collective memory of the civil war and Francoist past. Miralles' telling of his personal memories of fighting in the war in the form of an outpouring of memory — a virtual torrent of recollections — represents the emergence of private memories in the public sphere during the Spanish "memory boom" from around 1998.

In *El lápiz del carpintero* I showed how the ghost of the painter executed by Herbal the prison guard represents the re-emergence of the Republican past in Spain's historical consciousness. But the thesis emphasized that Rivas's novel is also about Herbal's memories, in other words, those of a perpetrator from the Francoist side. In *El hijo del acordeonista* the thesis argued that the emergence of private memories of the civil war and Francoist past in the public realm is represented by the inscription of the names of the local Republican dead in the form of a textual memorial.

Alongside the return of Republican memories the thesis has demonstrated the persistence of a Francoist identity in post-Transition Spain. In *Soldados de Salamina* in the narrator's account of Rafael Sánchez Mazas we saw how the kitsch figuration of the Republicans, which neutralises the memory of the civil war in language, signals a continuing discourse of Francoism in contemporary Spain. In *El lápiz del carpintero* we encountered the trace of the Francoist past in the return of '[l]a voz de vigía' ['(t)he guard's voice'] in Herbal in the present. The thesis argued that the remaining of a Francoist identity belied the notion of a Europeanized Spain detached from the time of the dictatorship.

We have found that these novels symbolise Spain's autonomous regions and their repression under Francoism. As explained in the Introduction, the thesis did not set out to represent this repression nor the individual identities of Catalonia, Galicia and the Basque Country. But the fact that each novel is set in one of the autonomous regions clearly calls for our attention. Through its focus on novels about memory the thesis has shown that the repression of language in the autonomous regions was a significant element of the Francoist project and, we might add, instrumental to the imposition of a distorted historical memory of the civil war.

As we have seen, *La sombra del viento* is primarily set in Barcelona. The novel, which was written in Spanish, is not about reinstating a Catalan identity. However, by virtue of its geographical setting it intrinsically links to and conveys Catalan memories of the civil war and Francoist past. In particular, the thesis has highlighted how the representation of Barcelona as wounded symbolises the inter-generational silence around the traumatic memory of the civil war and post-war era. *Soldados de Salamina* is similarly set in Catalonia, in Gerona. Like *La sombra del viento*, Cercas's novel was written in Spanish and is not about re-inscribing a particularly Catalan identity. But by dint of its Catalan setting the novel inherently connects to and recollects the region's memories of the civil war.

Rivas's novel was written in Galician and its original title is *O lapis do carpinteiro*. It is therefore evidently concerned with returning a Galician identity at the level of language. However, as indicated in the Introduction, the thesis is not based on the Galician original, but its translations into Spanish and English, both of which are directly from the Galician original. Nevertheless, the novel's geographical location — it is set in Galicia, mostly the capital, Santiago de Compostela, but also the city of A Coruña — links it to the region's memories of the war and Francoist past.

Atxaga's *El hijo del acordeonista* was written in Basque and its original title is *Soinujolearen semea*. As explained in the Introduction, rather than the Basque original the thesis is based on the translation into Spanish and the one into English from that. The novel clearly reaffirms a regional identity at the level of language. Notably, this reaffirmation not only occurs by means of the Basque original, but also the device of using words and phrases in Basque in the Spanish and English translations (Santana 2009: 218). *El hijo del acordeonista* thus directly re-inscribes the Basque language at a trans-national level while the novel's geographical setting — it is set in the Basque Country and California — indelibly links it to Basque memories of the civil war and Francoist past.

One of the key insights of the thesis is that these novels show the collective cultural memory of the civil war and Francoist past needs to include many different views of that past for Spain and the Spanish people. In addition, the thesis has revealed how the memories of the Spanish Civil War are not restricted to Spaniards nor confined within Spanish borders, but have an international dimension. As indicated in the Introduction, the novels have all been widely translated and are therefore disseminating knowledge of the memory of the civil war and the Franco era internationally. In other

words, the novels are not only reaching a Spanish-speaking readership. As we have seen, the reconfiguration of Spain's collective memory of the civil war and Franco era — the construction of a collective cultural memory — also reflects a wider pan-European "memory boom" of memories of the Second World War that arose after the end of the Cold War in 1989 (Stone 2014: 270). Since that time there has been great cultural revision of the post-war of the Second World War throughout Europe, 'most clearly, in the realm of collective memory' (266).

The thesis has highlighted how each of these novels overtly puts the memory of the Spanish Civil War into a European context by linking it with the memory of the Second World War. These novels thus reflect a new post-war consciousness which relates the memory of the Spanish Civil War to pan-European memory debates. In *La sombra del viento* the young Daniel Sempere finds Julián Carax's novel in early summer, 1945 (*La sombra*: 13 [*Shadow*: 1]). Instead of the official end of the Spanish Civil War — 1 April 1939 — Daniel's search for Julián's identity follows that of the Second World War in Europe: 8 May 1945. In *Soldados de Salamina* the fact that the Republican veteran Miralles, and the young men he remembers who died fighting alongside him, fought both in the Spanish Civil War and the Second World War lends the novel's reconfiguration of the collective memory of the civil war a pan-European dimension. In *El lápiz del carpintero* when Herbal takes Daniel Da Barca to the railway station in Coruña the newspaper headline announces Franco's meeting with Hitler. In *El hijo del acordeonista* David Imaz first learns about the memory of the civil war in 1964 when a film about the Second World War on television sparks an argument amongst his friends.

The thesis has reflected the very important role that culture plays in discourses of memory, including the reviewing and rewriting of history. As we have seen, culture contributes to memory discourses by producing different images and readings of the past, which of itself inspires discourse. The thesis has highlighted how all these novels are about reviewing the memory of the civil war. In particular, the thesis has emphasized that writing is instrumental to the making of cultural memories. Each of the novels employs a theme of writing and cultural production. In *La sombra del viento* Daniel Sempere inherits the trace of the apparently absent past in the form of a book by a little-known author, Julián Carax, who supposedly died at the time of the civil war. Near the end of the novel we learn that Daniel has written the story of his search to discover, and thus recover, Julián's identity. In *Soldados de Salamina* the narrator is a

journalist and not very successful novelist who gains memory of the war by writing about it. In Rivas's novel the central motif of the carpenter's pencil illustrates the idea of re-shaping the cultural memory of the civil war through drawing and writing. In *El hijo del acordeonista* David Imaz's writing of a personal memoir about growing up in the fictional locality of Obaba, which is posthumously re-written by his friend Joseba, constructs an alternative memorialisation of the civil war.

As we have seen, one of the recurring themes of the thesis has been that Spain's resurgent interest in memory has been partly driven by the fact that the generations who directly experienced the civil war and early post-war era are now dying out. However, as the thesis has highlighted the memory of the civil war and the Franco era is not of course restricted to those who lived through it. The thesis has shown that the memories of the civil war will carry on — will, that is, be carried on — through their representation in cultural form. Ofelia Ferrán has pointed out that with the disappearance of direct, personal memories of 'the civil war and postwar repression' it will 'increasingly become a matter *solely* of postmemory' (2007: 276, italics in original). As with memories of the Holocaust, the remaining testimonies will eventually be superseded by cultural representations. To this we might add that when the generations who experienced the civil war and postwar repression directly have died out, previous cultural representations of that time — including the four novels covered by the thesis — will of course still exist.

The thesis has argued that these novels are about the recovery of knowledge of the civil war and Francoist past. To differing degrees, *La sombra del viento*, *Soldados de Salamina*, *El lápiz del carpintero* and *El hijo del acordeonista* all recover actual, historical knowledge. However, as we have seen, these novels are also about the processes of remembering real events as well as those that might be imagined. In other words, these novels both illuminate and raise questions about the processes of memory.

In Ruiz Zafón's *La sombra del viento* Daniel Sempere's search for the absent identity of the novelist Julián Carax represents the act of remembering the Spanish past. The novel presents itself as a fictional take on the memory of the civil war and post-war period. In terms of its depiction of the post-war past, *La sombra del viento* is not primarily about verisimilitude: the appearance of being true or real. The level of 'historical detail' is relatively scant (Hutton 2017: 21). Readers therefore only absorb 'a superficial knowledge of the political and social climate in post-war Spain', though this is nevertheless some knowledge (Brenneis 2008: 67).

The knowledge the novel conveys might be different for the Spanish reader and the reader in translation. For example, the Spanish reader would understand the irony in Nuria's comment to Daniel, 'Eran los primeros meses de la guerra y Julián no era el único que había desaparecido sin dejar ni rastro. Nadie habla de eso ya, pero hay muchas tumbas sin nombre como la de Julián' (*La sombra*: 203) ['Those were the first months of the war, and Julián was not the only one to disappear without a trace. Nobody talks about it anymore, but there are lots of nameless graves like Julián's' (*Shadow*: 173)]. The irony pertains to Nuria's mention of the unmarked graves: the graves are being talked about in the novel. But for the reader in translation, the reference to 'muchas tumbas sin nombre' ['lots of nameless graves'] might serve to highlight the existence of the unmarked and mass graves of the victims of the Francoist repression in contemporary Spain.

Cercas's *Soldados de Salamina* is similarly about recovering the memory of the civil war through fiction. The thesis has emphasized that the novel is about the process of investigating the memory of the civil war past from the perspective of the Spanish present. *Soldados de Salamina* represents an emotional act of going back into a fictionalised past, which is blended with historical reality. The reader is asked to engage with the memory of the civil war and Francoist past by means of the narrator's investigations. This applies to the Spanish reader and the reader in translation.

Rivas's *El lápiz del carpintero* foregrounds the act of remembering the civil war and Francoist past by looking back at events from the present. The dialogue between Herbal the Nationalist guard and the young African immigrant Maria da Visitação is used to underscore the novel's recovery of memory. Although the novel is steeped in historical reality, it also draws strongly on the imagination in order to evoke the past.

Finally, Atxaga's *El hijo del acordeonista* also focuses on the act of remembering the civil war and Francoist past from the perspective of the present. The novel is partly an emotional act of looking back into the civil war and Francoist past through fiction. But by interspersing that fiction with historical reality the novel recovers actual, historical knowledge. The thesis has emphasized that the re-construction of the memory of the civil war relies on the work of the reader to enact a commemorative ceremony for the Republican dead and create a textual memorial. Thus, the reader is being asked to consider the workings of memory. The novel's trans-national context means the recovery of knowledge applies to the Spanish reader and the reader in translation.

To sum up, to a greater or lesser degree, all four of these novels recover actual, historical knowledge of the civil war and Francoist past. However, in different ways they are also about the act of remembering that past and exploring the processes of memory.

Although the thesis is nearly at an end, the investigation it has undertaken and its discussions about the discourse of memory could be developed in further directions. In particular, a comparative analysis of the use of the imagined and historical reality to create the historical narrative of the memory of the civil war and Francoist past would be a productive line of enquiry. The international/trans-national aspects of the memory of the civil war and their imbrication in European post-war consciousness could also be more widely explored. The post-colonial context of these novels could be further investigated. Another potentially fruitful direction would be a comparison of *La sombra del viento*, *Soldados de Salamina*, *El lápiz del carpintero* and *El hijo del acordeonista* to other literature about post-war traumatic pasts such as Holocaust literature. The memory of the civil war ultimately remains a crucial topic for Spain and its various people, both now and in the future.

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